NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Without Concealment-----Without Compromise.

VOLUME VI.---NO. 37. NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1846. WHOLE NUMBER 297.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY,
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.
At 142, Nassau Street, New-York.

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Donations to the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer, at Boston; or to S. H. GAY, Assistant Treasurer, at New-York.

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H. N. HENRY, PRINTER.

Pro-Slavery.

From the Ballston (N. Y.) Democrat.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

The *Herkimer Freeman*, a rabid abolition paper, denounces us as an enemy to the colored race, both bond and free, because we are opposed to such an extension of the elective franchise among the negroes of our State as is contemplated by many of the Whig journals, and by all of those, we believe, which are the organs of the Abolitionists. In imagining that we entertain any hostile feelings toward the free colored persons at the North, or any disposition to see the bondage of those at the South perpetuated, the *Freeman* does us great injustice. We are opposed to the proposed extension of the franchise, simply because we deem the class of men upon whom the *Freeman* and its supporters would confer this prerogative, a most unsafe depository for so much of political power. Incapacitated as well by a lack of interest in the success or defeat of the measures which divide the two great parties of the day, as by their profound ignorance, we can conceive of no more dangerous and impolitic scheme than that of suffering ten or fifteen thousand of them to control the whole political power of the State, and to decide, not according to sound judgment, but to any whim that might seize them, who shall rule over us, and what policy shall prevail?

We hear it sometimes urged by those who are in favor of this extension, that it would have a tendency to elevate the negroes, by increasing their self-respect. A similar argument was urged in the Convention of 1821, by those who were then in favor of admitting them to the polls upon the same footing with other citizens. It was urged that if deprived of this privilege they would be "condemned to irremediable degradation," and the inference was, that if clothed with this power, they would progress in moral and mental worth. The question was settled in that Convention by conferring the privilege on those who should be possessed of a freehold estate worth two hundred and fifty dollars. But with the facilities which every prudent and industrious man among us possesses for acquiring so small an amount of property, and with this powerful incentive to its acquisition, we have seen, after the experience of a quarter of a century, that not one in ten of them has availed himself of the opportunity afforded to secure the right to vote, and we are not aware that the moral or intellectual condition of those who do enjoy the right, is generally superior to that of those who are debarred from it.

We are fully persuaded that the great majority of the negroes are quite indifferent to the question, and that those who have volunteered as their champions in this matter are generally influenced by the basest and most mercenary motives, and hence we are constrained to oppose the project as one which can be productive of no possible good, but which might result in effecting an infinite amount of mischief.

From the New-York Express.

A RUNAWAY SLAVE IN ENGLAND.

Douglass, who says he is a runaway slave from Maryland, and who has been, and is, one of the great guns of the Abolitionists, it may be remembered, sailed last year for England. A letter has just been published, signed by him, in which among other matters, he writes of the treatment of "niggers," (we quote his own phrase,) in Britain. After alluding to the manner in which blacks are treated, in America, especially in the Northern States,—"denied the privileges and courtesies common to others in the use of the most humble means of conveyance—shut out from the cabins of steamboats—refused admission to respectable hotels—caricatured, scorned, scoffed, mocked, and maltreated with impunity,"—he goes on to say that, "eleven and a half days gone," he has changed a "democratic," for a "monarchical Government,"—he breathes, (he says,) "and lo! the chattel becomes a man!"—and thus he continues:—

"I gaze around in vain for one who will question my equal humanity, claim me as his slave, or offer me an insult. I employ a cab—I am seated beside white people—I reach the hotel—I enter the same door—I am shown into the same parlor—I dine at the same table—and no one is offended. No delicate nose grows deformed in my presence. I find no difficulty here in obtaining admission into any place of worship, instruction, or amusement, on equal terms with people as white as any I ever saw in the United States. I meet nothing to remind me of my complexion. I find myself regarded and treated at every turn with the kindness and deference paid to white people. When I go to church I am met by no upturned nose and scornful lip to tell me, "*We don't allow niggers in here!*"

"I remember, about two years ago, there was in Boston, near the southwest corner of Boston Common, a menagerie. I had long desired to see such a collection as I understood were being exhibited there. Never having had an opportunity while a slave, I resolved to seize this, my first since my escape. I went, and as I approached the entrance to gain admission, I was met and told by the doorkeeper, in a harsh and contemptuous tone, "*We don't allow niggers in here!*" I also remember attending a revival meeting in the Rev. Henry Jackson's meeting-house, at New-Bedford, and going up the broad aisle to find a seat, I was met by a good deacon, who told me, in a pious tone, "*We don't allow niggers in here!*" Soon after my arrival in New Bedford, from the South, I had a strong desire to attend the Lyceum, but was told, "*They don't allow niggers in here!*" While passing from New-York to Boston on the steamer Massachusetts, on the night of 9th December, 1843, when chilled almost through with the cold, I went into the cabin to get a little warm. I was soon touched upon the shoulder, and told, "*We don't allow niggers in here!*" On arriving in Boston from an Anti-Slavery tour, hungry and tired, I went into an eating-house near my friend Mr. Campbell's, to get some refreshment. I was met by a lad in a white apron, "*We don't allow niggers in here!*" A week or two before leaving the United States, I had a meeting appointed at Weymouth. On attempting to take a seat in the omnibus, I was told by the driver, (and I never shall forget his fiendish hate,) "*I don't allow niggers in here!*" Thank Heaven for the respite I now enjoy! I had been in Dublin but a few days, when a gentleman of great respectability kindly offered to conduct me through all the public buildings of that beautiful city; and a little afterwards, I found myself dining with the Lord Mayor of Dublin. What a pity there was not some American Democratic Christian at the door of his splendid mansion, to bark out at my approach, "*They don't allow niggers in here!*" The truth is, the people here know nothing of the Republican negro hate prevalent in our glorious land. They measure and esteem men according to their moral and intellectual worth, and not according to the color of their skin. Whatever may be said of the aristocracies here, there is none based on the color of a man's skin. This species of aristocracy belongs pre-eminently to "the land of the free, and the home of the brave."

If this man Douglass had not run away from the South, the people there would tell him he would never have met with this cry, "*We don't allow niggers in here!*" It is only in the free States, that this violent anti "nigger" prejudice exists, and as much among the political Abolitionists, as among any people in the world. If Douglass had staid at home, no Southern door would have been slammed in his face, and he would have had the same privileges that any white servant has in the United States or in England. If the Lord Mayor of Dublin chooses to take to his table the negro servant of America, or the white servant of his own miserable, poverty-stricken, ragged, starving country,—all we have to say is, *De gustibus non est disputandum.* If Douglass will only travel among the "pisantry" of the Lord Mayor's country, particularly among O'Connell's wretched tenants, whom the Times's correspondent has been recently describing, he will soon confess, that the worst off slaves in this country are princes in comparison with them.

But there is, we imagine, something deeper in all this than a mere preference for the society of the runaway negroes of America. "Comparisons," said sage Dogberry, "are *odorous*,"—and this may be so: yet we cannot help thinking that all this attention to the Maryland refugee demonstrates rather the fact that his entertainers have not so much love for him as hate for the country and the institutions, which it is his special mission, over-sea, we learn, to inspire them with. This glib-tongued scoundrel, mounted on the sympathies of his special friends and backers, the Abolitionists, is "running a muck" in greedy-eared Britain, against this country, its people, its institutions, and even against its peace. Haranguing here and there, he is amusing his British hearers with tales of the exposure to ravages, in case of war, of the slaveholding portion of the Union, and of the facilities which invasion from abroad would meet with, at certain points, from the existence of Slavery here. Therefore it is, that we thus speak of him, and those who encourage him All are enemies of their country, who, in a foreign land, calumniate it; but the meanest kind of calumny is, that which speaks through the tongue of a runaway slave. Surely, "Lord Mayors" in Europe must be well informed respecting America, when their teachers are our servants!

From the New-York Globe.

NEGROES ABROAD.

Frederick Douglass, a mulatto, who calls himself a fugitive slave, is, or has been making a tour of Great Britain, and has sent a letter to his admiring friends in this country, in which he talks largely of the great company he is allowed to go into, and, of course, abuses the people of this country, because they treated him as they do other negroes. He says that the people of Great Britain "know nothing of the Republican negro-hate prevalent in our glorious land. They measure and esteem men according to their moral and intellectual worth, and not according to the color of their skin. Whatever may be said of the aristocracies here, there is none based on the color of a man's skin. This species of aristocracy belongs pre-eminently to 'the land of the free, and the home of the brave.'" To which the *Express* replies thus:

If this man, Douglass, had not run away from the South, the people there would tell him he would never have met with this cry, "*We don't allow niggers in here.*" It is only in the free States that this violent anti-"nigger" prejudice exists, and as much among the political Abolitionists as among any people in the world. If Douglass had staid at home, no Southern door would have been slammed in his face, and he would have had the same privileges that any white servant has in the United States or in England.

The *Express* is rather wide of the mark in its remarks, inasmuch as it inculcates the idea that no distinction is known in the South between negroes and white folks, whereas the "prejudice" is infinitely stronger and deeper. The editor of that paper never saw a negro passenger in the cabin of a Southern steamboat, nor a negro lodger at a hotel, nor a negro dancing at a ball with white men, nor sitting in a church with a white congregation, nor at any other place where white men most do congregate; and it would be rather a dangerous operation for him to make his appearance at any such places, or in a theatre, with even a *quateron* girl on his arm. Negroes are not admitted in quateron balls, much less into company which is composed entirely of whites. So, the next time he talks about the rights of negroes in the South, he must give more correct information, or we shall think it will be impossible to find "books in the running *brooks*."

"The Peculiar Institution."

From the Cincinnati Herald.

TRUE STORIES.

Some of our readers must have noticed the announcement two weeks ago, of a meeting to be held in the Sixth Presbyterian Church, by Henry Bibb, and J. H———, colored men from Canada. The former is a fugitive from Slavery, the latter is thought to be one.

Henry Bibb is a highly intelligent mulatto, and said to be an excellent speaker. He was held as a slave among the Cherokees, escaped from bondage several years ago, and has been living in Canada.—As the Cherokees are a foreign nation, and no treaty stipulation for the surrender of fugitives exist, he is a free man, and not subject to reclamation.

His history is a sad one. He has a young wife and a child now in Slavery. During the last eight years, he has made several attempts to secure their freedom, but without success. His recent visit to this place was made with a view to this object. He had not seen his companion for five years, and came here all buoyant with the hope of recovering her.—He went down to Madison, and there learned to his unspeakable misery, that his wife and child had been bought two years ago by a Frenchman, somewhere in Mississippi, and that she, whom he had fondly hoped to rescue from chains, and instal as the free mistress of his Canada home, had been forced down to the extremest point of degradation to which woman can be reduced.

Hope fled forever—he gave his cause up into the hands of the Judge of all the Earth, and is about to return to the cold regions of the North, a heart-broken man.

This is an illustration of the Divine Institution of Slavery.

The case of H. is another illustration. We wondered at the hardihood of the man in speaking publicly in Cincinnati, when he declared himself a fugitive from Slavery in Kentucky. "Better not attempt such a thing," we said—"there are hounds here that will soon scent you out." He laughed incredulously, and innocently exclaimed, "What do they want with a poor old man, like me? Chains could not hold me."

Subsequently, we learned from him the secret of his security. He was a slave once in Maryland, but had been permitted by his master to purchase his freedom. Just before this, his wife and children had been carried to Kentucky by his master's son. His freedom purchased, his first desire was to rejoin his family. The master enveloped the free papers with great care, sealed them up, and gave them to H. cautioning him to let no one see them, or they might be stolen, and to give them to the young master so soon as he reached his place, so that they might be well taken care of. At the same time, he addressed a letter by mail to his son, which, H. was told, would give information of his coming.

The newly made freeman went on his way rejoicing, reached Kentucky in due time, and first sought out the cabin of his wife. "God bless you," said he, "how pretty they did look!"

The greetings over, the wife told him that he was expected—the young master had received a letter, telling him that he must take the free papers and keep them—nobody would know anything about it—and H. could be sold below. This had leaked out through the little girls of the family, who had heard their parents talking over the contents of the letter, and with the thoughtlessness of childhood had told what they heard, to the children of H.

He at once resolved on his course. The free papers were secretly buried near the cabin; H. appeared before the young master, in apparently a desperate condition, crying out that he had lost, or somebody had stolen his freedom papers! So well did he play his part, that the deception was complete, and the slaveholder thinking all right, thenceforth treated him as a slave.

But, he was too shrewd a fellow to be kept in Kentucky; a trading expedition to the South was got up; and H. taken along. He made himself extremely serviceable to the young master, who by the time they reached New Orleans, felt almost reluctant to part with him. But, the thing must be done—H. could not be trusted near a free State. "Just the evening before the day when they were to sell me," said he, "the Lord tapped young massa on the head with the fever, and then nobody could nurse him but me." This was his salvation. "Home," was the word, and H. was required incessantly as the nurse. Passage was taken on board a steamboat, and in due time they all reached home safely. Before starting, the poor fellow had dug up his free papers, and secreted them on his person, in the hope that sometime or other the "Lord might give him a chance to use them." On his return he buried them again, resolving, however, to escape the first opportunity that might offer.

The time soon came. Everything was got ready. He had to navigate with a wife and four children, but he was vigorous and courageous. He had a bag slung at his back into which he tumbled the little one. He took one by the hand; the mother helped the third; while the fourth was old enough to "hoe his own row." On a dark night they sallied forth—the free papers not being forgotten—the Ohio was not far distant—a boat had been prepared—the river was crossed—and, after walking all night, they found themselves just before break of day at New Albany.

Of the amusing tact he displayed in obtaining passage aboard a steamboat, his perils when the boat stopped at Louisville, and his adventures up to Cincinnati, we have no room to speak. But Cincinnati was reached; the State was soon traversed; Canada was gained; and there, for the last fifteen years, he has been living comfortably on a little property, earned by his industry.

H. is an exceedingly shrewd and humorous fellow. His free papers we examined, and there cannot be the slightest doubt of their genuineness. In rescuing his wife and children from Slavery, he committed a penitentiary offence, and, if in this State, could be demanded from our Governor, as a fugitive from justice. Is there a slaveholder who will say that he ought to go to the penitentiary for carrying off his wife and children?

Selections.

THE RIGHTS OF THE FREE STATES SUBVERTED,

Or, an enumeration of some of the most prominent instances in which the Federal Constitution has been violated by our National Government, for the benefit of Slavery. By a member of Congress.

(CONTINUED.)

They captured four hundred and sixty negroes, who were adjudged slaves by staff officers of the army, to whom that duty was assigned, and delivered them over to interminable bondage.* We have no means by which we can determine the number of lives sacrificed in that war; but it may safely be asserted, that the capture of each slave cost the lives of two white men, and at least eighty thousand dollars in cash, the most of which was drawn from the pockets of the people of the free States. The whole expense of the war is estimated at forty millions dollars. The moral guilt incurred, and the sacrifice of national character, cannot be estimated. Perhaps I ought to add, upon the authority of Gen. Jesup, that blood-hounds were also purchased, to act as auxiliaries to our army, and that blood-hounds, and soldiers, and officers, marched together under "the star spangled banner," in pursuit of the panting fugitives who had fled from Southern oppression.† And blood-hounds, and soldiers, and officers, were paid for from the avails of Northern industry; while our people were not permitted to petition their servants to be relieved from such degradation.

Most readers will recollect, that several slaves escaped from their masters in Florida in 1843, and fled to the Island of New Providence. We learn from the accounts published in the newspapers of that day, that an officer and several men were detached from one of our ships of war, to search for and arrest the fugitives; and that at least one of the revenue cutters, with its officers and crew, were employed for some days in a fruitless attempt to arrest their fellow-men, who were thus fleeing from bondage. An agent was also sent to that Island, to demand of the Governor those who had sought protection from slavery under the British laws.

In August, 1831, a few slaves in the upper part of Southampton county, Virginia, commenced an insurrection. Their whole numbers perhaps at no time exceeded one hundred. When this news reached Norfolk, the authorities of that city made immediate application to Colonel House, then commanding at Fortress Monroe, who, at 6 o'clock the next morning, embarked on board a steamboat, with three companies of United States troops, for the scene of action. He was re-inforced by a detachment from on board the United States ships Warren and Natchez, amounting in all to about three hundred men, who, without any authority whatever, thus turned out to suppress the efforts of their fellow-men, who were exerting themselves to attain that liberty for which so much blood was shed during the war of our Revolution. Their efforts to regain the inalienable rights with which God had endowed them, were as legal, and far more just and holy, than those of Washington and his associates during the revolution; inasmuch as they fought for natural rights, while our fathers contended for political privileges. Yet so eager were these officers of the United States army and navy to put down these attempts of their fellow-men to break the chains of oppression, that they waited for no orders or directions from proper authority, but, in violation of the Constitution, of law, and of justice, they sought to kill and murder those who were seeking to obtain their freedom‡

Legislation by Congress for the purpose of establishing, supporting, and maintaining Slavery.

In 1778, and 1790, ten miles square, situated on both sides of the Potomac river, were conveyed, by deeds of cession from the States of Maryland and Virginia, to the United States, within which to establish the seat of our National Government. But the laws of those States were continued in force within the territory ceded, until Congress took possession of it. Congress subsequently accepted the grant, and by statute, approved 27th February, 1801, declared that the State laws (previously) in force within said district should continue until repealed.

By virtue of this provision, all laws of Maryland, including the whole of her slave code, were established as law within that portion of said district which had been ceded by that State. So, also, the laws of Virginia, including her slave code, were established in that portion of the district ceded by that State. This provision in the act of Congress of 1801, is the foundation on which the institution of Slavery and the Slave-Trade is based within the District of Columbia.§ Repeal this provision of the law of 1801, and Slavery would cease, and the Slave-Trade perish. If Congress has no powers in respect to Slavery, it certainly had no power to create and establish it, and to uphold and continue it until the present time. The Slave-Trade, with all its revolting crimes and all its guilt, was established, and is now upheld and continued there by *our laws*; and we are involved in its guilt. So, too, those barbarous laws, by which free people of color in that district are sold into slavery, and by which a slave, for certain offences, "is now liable to have his head cut off, his body divided, and set up in public places." Congress has, at various times, amended these laws, to favor the slaveholding interest; but never in favor of liberty. They have given to the city of Washington power to punish slaves corporeally,‖ and to employ a guard at the expense of the nation, now used to recapture fugitive slaves.¶ Yet many speeches have been made, resolutions adopted, and I may almost say that volumes have been written, to prove that Congress has not the constitutional power, nor the moral right, to repeal those laws of its own enacting. Even at this day, Northern men are heard to inquire, What have we to do with Slavery in the District of Columbia? While Southern statesmen boldly declare that Congress possesses no power in relation to Slavery within this District.

It would require much time to mention all of the laws enacted by Congress for the benefit of Slavery. I intend to call attention to some few of the most prominent. Congress has passed laws every year since 1790, in compliance with those treaties to which attention has been called. Under those treaties Congress has annually appropriated moneys to fulfil our stipulations in favor of Slavery. And if we carry out those treaties we must continue such appropriations indefinitely.

By act of Congress, approved March 2, 1807, the "*American Slave-Trade*" was regulated by Congress with as much formality as was the tariff of 1842.†

At the close of the late war with England, in 1815, our Commissioners, at the treaty of Ghent, obtained from the British Government a stipulation under which our Government, acting as the agent of certain slaveholders, received one million two hundred thousand dollars as a compensation for slaves who, during the war, left their masters and sought the enjoyment of liberty under the flag of the British nation. A small portion of that money is yet in the hands of Government, but Congress has frequently legislated for distributing portions among those claiming to have lost slaves during the war. Foreign slaves have been brought into the United States since the prohibition of the foreign Slave-Trade, and persons convicted of thus violating the laws of our nation, have applied to Congress for relief from the penalties of that law, and Congress has generally granted it. Among the Seminole Indians who emigrated West were many colored persons. Men, professing to own them as slaves, have applied to Congress for pay, and have actually been compensated for their loss, by moneys collected from the freemen of the North.‡ Representatives from the free States have not hesitated to advocate the passage of such laws, and to tax their constituents for the payment of such claims.§

When Mr. Van Buren acted as President of the United States, he obtained from the British Government twenty-five thousand pounds sterling, as a compensation to the owners of those slaves who were on board the ships "Comet," and "Encomium," when they were wrecked near the British Island of New Providence. When he retired from office, there were in the hands of the Secretary of State, Mr. Forsyth, about seven thousand dollars unclaimed. This money he paid to the Treasurer of the United States. In 1842, the owners of these slaves called on the Treasurer for the money. He refused to pay it to them, thinking himself unauthorized to do so without a special law for that purpose. They then applied to Congress for relief. Thus, as late as 1842, slave-merchants dared to approach Congress, and ask the Representatives of the people to aid them in carrying out their speculations in the bodies of men, women, and children.‖ And it is with pain and mortification that the writer is constrained to say, that prominent statesmen of the North, supported the bill, while they were not permitted to read, or refer a petition from their constituents, respectfully asking to be relieved from the expense and crime of supporting that traffic in our own species.

The Laws of Florida.

By the organic law of Florida, the people of that territory were authorized to elect a local legislature. The legislature so elected was authorized to pass laws which were to be submitted to Congress, and if not disapproved by that body, they became the laws of the Territory. Thus Congress, by its agent, the territorial legislature, enacted the laws and became responsible for them. Those statutes provides that free colored people coming into that Territory to reside, and refusing to leave it, shall be *sold into Slavery*. Another statute contains a provision by which free persons residing within the territory, and refusing to leave it, may be sold as slaves.—Another law provides, that when a judgment shall be obtained against a free colored person, and shall remain five days unpaid, such person shall be sold into Slavery to pay the debt. In short, Florida, while under the control of Congress, has had the most barbarous code of slave laws within the United States. For these laws, Congress was responsible. Northern Representatives have involved us in the moral guilt attached to those laws. They were enacted especially for the benefit of Slavery, without constitutional authority, and in total disregard of our rights and of the rights of mankind.

In 1839, Congress passed a special law giving five thousand dollars to the officers and crew of the two gun boats sent by Commodore Patterson to blow up the fort on the Apalachicola river, as has been stated, and by which two hundred and seventy men, women, and children were murdered in cold blood for their love of liberty. The people of the free States were not only involved in the crime of those murders, but they were compelled to pay a bounty to those who committed them.¶

Our relations with Hâiti.

The existence of a black republic in the island of Hâiti was early regarded as a dangerous precedent, should the fact become known to the slave population of our Southern States. To harass those people, and to prevent, as far as convenient, all intercourse between that island and our slave States, in order to keep the slaves of those States in total ignorance of the liberty enjoyed by their brethren in Hâiti, Congress, by special law, approved 28th February, 1806, prohibited all commercial intercourse between the ports of the United States and those of Hâiti, (not in possession and under the acknowledged Government of France.)** The law provided, that after due notice of the passage of the act, any vessel trading from any port of the United States to any of the prohibited ports in St. Domingo, together with the cargo of such vessel, should be forfeited, &c. The law subsequently expired by its own limitation, but to this day our Government has refused to acknowledge the independence of Hâiti, or to establish commercial relations with its Government. Thus the freemen of the Northern States are deprived of the profits which they would derive from established commercial relations between the two Governments, in order that Southern Slavery may be sustained and continued.

* Act of the 27th Congress. † It has lately been judicially determined, that to carry a slave upon the high seas is to emancipate him. ‡ Vide "act for relief of Depeyster and others," approved 17th June, 1844 § During the 27th Congress, the Hon. Ezra Dean, of Ohio, reported a bill for compensating the owners of slaves stolen by the followers of General Jackson's army while in Florida in 1814. The bill was sustained by him in a set speech. But its real nature being explained it was rejected, only 36 members voting for it. Nearly one-half of the slaveholding members voted against this bill, reported and sustained by a representative from Ohio. ‖ Vide Journal of the House of Representatives, 2d session, 27th Congress. ¶ 9 vol. Laws U. S. 1065. ** Laws U. S. vol 4, page 4.

Note.—During the 1st session 28th Congress, Hon. C. J. Ingersoll, chairman of committee on foreign affairs, reported a bill to pay to the Spaniards claiming to own the slaves on board the Amistad, $70,000; but the subject being discussed on the question of printing the report, the bill was never called up for action.

(To be continued.)

From the Philadelphia Times.

War with England under the disguise of a war with *Mexico*, will sweep our commerce from the ocean by Letters of Marque issued by Mexico,—vessels, men, and money, will be furnished by adventurers from all maritime nations, not excepting the United States! but principally from *England*. Our Southern and Southeastern States will be the theatre for their land operations. They will liberate and *arm the slaves!* carrying fire, sword, and desolation in the interior of those States, and laying the towns along the seaboard *under contribution*, and thus make us pay the *expense of the war;* whilst, being nominally "at peace with England" we will be thus prevented from making reprisals on English property either *on land* or water.

Be not deceived by "those who cry peace! peace! when there is no peace." We must either make a radical change in our policy or these consequences *will surely overtake us!* Let our statesmen look to this before it be too late. "A word to the wise is sufficient."

We may hang every foreigner caught fighting under the Mexican flag. This would only stimulate them to fight with greater desperation. The slave will not ask nor give quarter; they know too well what would be *their* fate. Those letters of Marque, would capture ten Americans for every foreigner we could capture!—hanging is a game two can play at: every foreigner enlisted by Mexico would be by that nation *naturalized;* and for every one of those whom we should hang, they would hang two, five, or ten of our citizens! are we prepared for that?

American Statesmen! *pause before you go any further*, and see whether all this may not be *prevented*. No doubt it can—honorably—peaceably, and profitably.

REFLECTOR.

* House Doc. 52, 3d Session 27th Congress. † House Doc. 125, 3d Session 25th Congress. ‡ Vide Niles's Register, August, 1831. § Vide opinion of B. F. Butler, Attorney General, 6 vol. Ex. Doc. 1840. ‖ Charter of the city of Washington.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT BRISTOL.

At a very large meeting—about 1,200 persons—held in Bristol, on Monday, 10th November, for the purpose of receiving a deputation from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, John E. Lunell, Esq. in the chair, the following resolutions were passed:—

"1. That whilst this meeting deeply deplores the continued existence and dreadful atrocities of Slavery and the Slave-Trade, they rejoice to learn the encouraging progress of Anti-Slavery sentiment and effort in various parts of the world, especially in the United States; and would encourage the philanthropists of this, and of every other country, to renewed exertions for the complete overthrow of these gigantic evils."

"2. That whilst this meeting offer no opposition to the free emigration of laborers to the emancipated colonies, when conducted on sound principles, they feel it to be their duty to denounce the present mode of supplying them with labor as unjust in principle, unwise in policy, and inhuman and degrading in its consequences; and would earnestly call on her Majesty's Government and the British Legislature to withdraw their sanction from it.—And this meeting would further urge upon the Queen's Government the duty of withholding the sanction of the Crown from all colonial enactments, whether in the form of vagrant, contract, or other laws, the effect of which may be to place the laboring population within the power of their masters, or to give the local justices concurrent jurisdiction with the stipendiary magistrates in the colonies."

"3. That this meeting have learned with painful interest the fact, that several thousands of British subjects are now held in slavery in the Spanish and Dutch colonial possessions, and would respectfully entreat her Majesty's Government to take the necessary measures for securing to them their liberty, and for restoring them to their native homes."

After a statement by John Scobell, Esq. Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, full of instructive and harrowing details,

The following address, with the resolution annexed, was then delivered, to a deeply-sympathising auditory, by the Rev. Geo. Armstrong:—I can very well believe, Sir, that the circumstance of so short a notice, adverted to by a reverend speaker who has just sat down, has been inconveniently felt by several ministers, whose absence on the present occasion may be justly ascribed to that cause—or, indeed, any cause—rather than indisposition to the object which has brought us together. Yet I could wish that my reverend brethren of other denominations had been present this evening in large numbers, because it would have been my hope to place before them a means by which they, in particular, might be able to effectuate one great benefit emphatically referred to this evening—the swelling the voice of sympathy from this country to America, by conveying to their kindred churches beyond the Atlantic their united testimony against the deep wrong of Slavery, and their earnest entreaties that the ministers of those churches would be faithful in the discharge of the high function devolving upon them in relation to that subject. I shall have more to say upon this topic presently; but, in the meantime, I am anxious it should be felt in how many ways even small efforts, when generally pursued, may be most important aids in the carrying on of the great work to which our hearts, and therefore our hands, should with all readiness and perseverance be devoted. I am desirous of impressing, not only upon my reverend brethren the importance of action from them in this matter, but upon laymen, and especially on those to whom the call of humanity is never directed in vain,—the females of our country, how easily they may confer the benefit, not only of their sympathy, but of their pecuniary support, by a very small expenditure of time, attention, and material, which, in instances which have come within my knowledge, have drawn after them an abundant requital in the gratitude of those to whose service these efforts were devoted. I allude to a proceeding now in operation for some two or three years in this city,—the contributing and collecting of articles for an ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR OR BAZAAR, held about Christmas, every year, in the city of Boston, Massachusetts.—In the two last years—and again in the present—some friends have been engaged in this good work, and have been able to transmit to America—to the value of £70 or £80—some suitable articles, slender indeed in pecuniary amount, but far from unimportant as a demonstration of the feeling which suggested even so trifling an aid. Let it no longer be a trifling aid. At least, let many hands be engaged in it; and let us, each year hence, work together on a wider scale, and, in friendly rivalry, see who may be most successful, in proportion to their opportunities, in the manifestation of this evidence of the interest here taken in the prosperity of the (Christmas) ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR, at Boston. We can answer for the pure auspices under which it is conducted; and we have rejoicingly experienced, in the cordiality of the thanks we have received, evidence more than we could expect of the pleasure we have been able to confer. Sir, this feeling in American minds is strong. They are sensible of the value of sympathy, and are abundantly grateful when it is given. I have shown it to be so on small occasions; and we have proof in our hands, that it is commensurately so on large occasions. In the last annual report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, honorable and grateful mention is made of the Government and people of England, for "the continued direction of their attention and their energies to the extinction of negro slavery and the Slave-Trade throughout the world." The report, with pleasure, records, that "the Directors of the East India Company, responding to the demands of the lovers of freedom, had emancipated nearly ten millions of East Indian slaves;" and goes on to say, that "the day may not be far distant when the great battle for freedom will be decided, with their assistance, in the cotton market of Liverpool; and when *the peaceful emancipation of the American slave will be achieved on the plains of Hindostan.*"—To many men and women of England we are indebted, more directly for expressions of sympathy, and for substantial assistance, afforded during the past year. For *their words of encouragement*, and for *their helping hands*, we return them our cordial thanks." But, Sir, I must not forget the task of friendly suggestion to my ministerial brethren of other denominations,—with respect to which, I desire to throw myself on their indulgent consideration. May I say, then, how much good they might effect—how important, indeed, might be the result—were they to undertake the duty of affectionately and respectfully *addressing their brethren in the ministry*, more particularly throughout the Northern States, (where only they could hope to be heard,) imploring them, in language such as it would become one free brother to use to another, to employ the great means at their disposal, in the raising and strengthening of that feeling in their countrymen and in the souls committed to their charge, which should render the existence of slavery on their soil from this day forth, insupportable to them, as sinful, injurious to man, and offensive to God. Whether such steps have already been taken or not, my recollection does not immediately inform me. But this I know, and not without humble gratulation am I enabled to tell it, that such a step *has* been taken by the religious denomination to which it is my honor to belong, and with the very best and happiest result. In the exercise of a brotherly and Christian frankness, a document was drawn up, and extensively signed by the ministers of our persuasion in this country and in Ireland, respectfully but entreatingly reminding our brethren in the States, of the high and solemn responsibility resting on them in the sight of God and man, in regard to the greatest question of the present age. The document was received with kindness, but not with warmth. It was an experiment which had to work its way. And as the event has turned out, we have cause to rejoice that no sudden action was taken. Months elapsed, during which the subject was permeating far and near throughout that portion of the States which it was our desire to influence. Months again followed upon these; and though in the interval we had a decorous acknowledgment, and expressions of fraternal regard; it was not till within the last few days, that the fullness of time had arrived; and that the little leaven, which had been working so well, produced its satisfactory and exhilarating result. Sir, I have in my hand a "PROTEST," on the subject of Slavery, which would do honor to any body of men, and of which, as a brother professor with those who have sent it to us, I take a just pride, on so appropriate an occasion as the present, in making this public and grateful mention. In this eloquent document, there is one passage in particular, to which I would beg to draw your attention. It has been a fashion with some, a bold and frequent one with the spiritual guides of the owners of slaves in America, to set up in defence of their "*peculiar institution*," the sanction of the sacred oracles of God. Sir, the subscribers to this noble "PROTEST" have taken such notice of this plea, as divines had a right to take, and as all instructed divines ought to take. "We protest," they say, "against any attempt to defend the system from the letter of the Scriptures, or from practices recorded in the Old Testament, as a libel on God and Christ, which would tend, so far as the attempt succeeded, to destroy our confidence in the Bible. If this system was not prohibited among ancient nations by positive law, it was not for the reason that it was right; but that, like polygamy and other evil practices, 'it was suffered for a time, because of the hardness of their hearts.' And if, from the imperfect knowledge under the old dispensation,—'the time of this ignorance God winked at,'—yet now in the light of the Gospel, 'He has commanded all men everywhere to repent.'" Passing over some noble adjurations of their people, and their brethren especially in the South, they go on to say,—"We implore all Christians and Christian preachers to unite in increasing prayer to God for aid against this system; to lose no opportunity of speaking the truth and spreading light on this subject, in faith that the truth is strong enough to break every yoke. . . . . And we, on our part, do hereby pledge ourselves before God and our brethren, never to be weary of laboring in the cause of human rights and freedom, till Slavery be abolished, and every slave made free." Signed by 170 Unitarian ministers of the Northern portion of the United States. [The reading of these extracts, with the comments which preceded and followed, was received by the meeting with the liveliest demonstrations of satisfaction.] Such, Sir, has been the fruit; itself, we doubt not, but the precursor of a future increase, which, indirectly indeed, but by an easily perceptible connection, has grown out of the humble effort of faithful hearts here to quicken the generous hearts there, of those whom they now more than ever must hold in honor and esteem! May we not, then, say to brethren of other denominations around—"Go and do ye likewise?" But in his work of quickening and encouraging, we must do something more, and something now. We owe a debt to those who, in the midst of storms and darkness, are bravely clinging to the ark of liberty, and doing a Christian work under difficulty and danger we know not of,—we owe them a debt, and we must partly pay it now and here. They want our sympathy, and they shall have it. They rejoice in the encouragement of our kind words, and with all our souls we give it! And now, Sir, although, from want of time, I have not been able to consult at an earlier moment with the conductors of this meeting, shall I not have the consent of this platform, shall I not have the concurrence, aye, the acclamation, of this meeting, on proposing the following resolution:—"Resolved, That, convened as we have been, for the purpose of aiding in the great cause of freedom from the bonds of SLAVERY, we should deem ourselves wanting to that cause were we to withhold the expression of our admiration for those magnanimous men and women in the United States of North America who, in the face of unparalleled difficulties, (we rejoicingly learn, now in process of diminution,) with a zeal that no danger can damp, with a love that no opposition can quench, continue to be nobly banded in the holy cause of freeing their colored brethren from the cruelest bondage that has ever afflicted and disgraced the human race. That, in tendering thus the expression of our sentiments, we gladly embrace the opportunity of joining our voice with that of all men everywhere, who respect the right of free discussion, and the sacred liberty of the press, in condemnation of the atrocious outrage lately committed at Lexington, in Kentucky, in violation of those rights,—so nobly, but on that occasion so vainly, sustained by the high-souled, but still indomitable, CASSIUS M. CLAY. For these true heroes of humanity we devoutly invoke the blessing of ALMIGHTY GOD; while we hereby offer them the homage of our respectful, admiring, and affectionate sympathy." It will be observed, Sir, that the resolution embraces emphatic notice of a subject of which the knowledge has doubtless become sufficiently general to excuse my dwelling on it beyond a passing reference to the fact, that it has been justly regarded of sufficient importance to call forth the marked and indignant reprobation of a man high and honored in the State,—I allude to the mention of the disgraceful occurrence at Lexington, in the course of a speech by Lord John Russell, on a recent occasion, in the city of Edinburgh. And more I need not say. This dark and daring deed is its own most fitting expositor! Let our friends in that land—which we hope *yet* to see a land of freedom—know how we think of that foul deed; and let it go forth from this room, and may it be echoed by many such meetings in Britain, that there are hearts here which—in proportion as they hate oppression in every form, but most of all when it *dares* to profane the holy name of liberty—delight in doing honor to the good, the brave, the generous, and the true. Sir, let these words—the words of the resolution which I have undertaken to submit to the many hundreds here assembled—find an energetic response from them; and so soon as your mighty steamers shall have borne them over the Western deep, glad welcome will be given them, and many a heart beat high in the consciousness of the generous work you have achieved this evening.

From the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MANUFACTURE OF ARTICLES FROM FREE-GROWN COTTON.

We give insertion with much pleasure to the following address, which is in course of extensive private circulation:—

To the friends of the abolition of the Slave-Trade and Slavery.

It is cause for devout thankfulness to the Almighty, that, by his blessing on the efforts of those who labored for the abolition of the Anglo-African Slave-Trade and of British colonial slavery, those dreadful evils have both been abolished by law. We can and do rejoice, that the shores of Africa can no longer be infested with impunity, by the man-stealer from our country; that nearly 800,000 of our fellow-subjects, once held as slaves in the British colonies, once have been emancipated; and that millions who were lately bondmen in British India are now legally free.

These gratifying and cheering results of past

evils which are inseparable from its existence. We may also point out to them the duty, the safety, and the advantages of emancipation. But we desire, at present, to direct attention to one painful fact, connected with the establishment and increase of foreign Slavery, and to state the course which we think should be adopted, both in order to avoid a continued implication in the crime, and to discourage a system which we so strongly reprobate.

It can, we believe, be clearly shown, that American Slavery is principally supported by the demand of Great Britain for the cotton of the United States.—Allow us, then, briefly to state the extent and some of the revolting circumstances of the slave system in America, and to adduce proof of the assertion, that the people of England are largely implicated in its encouragement.

The slave population of the United States of America may be estimated at 2,800,000. This large number of our fellow-men, whose right to liberty is no less sacred than our own, are cruelly coerced to toil for the benefit of others. With worse than savage barbarity, the marriage relation among these victims of oppression is not recognized by law; hence those who morally sustain the relation of husbands and wives are often separated for life, by the sale of one or both, at the will of their "owner," to places distant from each other. The ties of parent and child are equally disregarded, as might be expected from those who scruple not to sever the conjugal relation. In addition to this disregard of the social rights and of the common feelings of humanity, slaves are debarred from an acquaintance with even the rudiments of knowledge, lest they should thereby become acquainted with their wrongs, and learn how to escape from them. To teach a slave to read is punishable with severe penalties, and in one slave State, (Louisiana,) death is the legal penalty for a second offence. For attempting to escape from bondage, the laws of all the slave States allow the life of the slave to be taken by the pursuers, if he cannot otherwise be secured; and imprisonment or death is the penalty inflicted on those who aid a slave in his escape from bondage.

The American domestic Slave-Trade, which is carried on between the various slave States, is in some of its features too revolting for detail. By this trade it has been estimated that no less than 70,000 persons are annually sold, the greater portion taken from the place of their birth to more fertile regions, and to severer toil, and in a multitude of instances, subjected to those cruel separations of the nearest domestic ties to which we have before alluded. To all who recognize the principle that to hold an innocent fellow-being in slavery is criminal in the sight of God, we need scarcely say, that it is a Christian duty to avoid, as far as possible, all participation in, or encouragement of, the crime.

In stating our belief that the consumers of articles produced by slave labor, are accessories to the maintenance of the whole system of which some features have been described, we advance no new doctrine. During the early struggle for the abolition of the Slave-Trade, in the latter part of the last century, the friends of that cause, as we have been informed, published and circulated tens of thousands of copies of a small tract recommending the disuse of sugar, at that time exclusively produced by slave labor. In this tract we think it was satisfactorily shown, that a small number of families, by their ordinary consumption of sugar, afforded the motive for the removal of one slave from Africa, and that, consequently, by abstinence from sugar on the part of a considerable number of families, the ravages of the Slave-Trade might be expected to be materially lessened. Thomas Clarkson, in his "History of the abolition of the Slave-Trade," estimates the number of persons in Great Britain who voluntarily abandoned the use of sugar at the period to which we refer, at 300,000. In addition to the reasons that have been already named for substituting, as much as possible, free-grown for slave-grown produce, it is manifest that in so doing, the subject of Slavery would be much more frequently brought under the notice of our countrymen, and a standing protest be held up against it.

We have already stated, in concurrence with the testimony of some of the most eminent friends of the slave in the United States, and undeniable facts, that the demand for the cotton of that country in Great Britain has been a chief means of perpetuating and extending Slavery in America. Shortly after the declaration of American Independence, there was much ground to hope that Slavery would not long exist in the Union. The tide of public opinion, which had already led to acts for the abolition of Slavery in several of the Northern States, was directed with considerable force against it; there were at that time few articles of export produced by slaves in the States of great pecuniary value. In 1790, the number of slaves was 657 000, and the cotton exported, 189 000 lbs. In 1813, the number of slaves was estimated at 2,847 810; the cotton exported was 1,081,919,000 lbs.; and unless the most vigorous means be used to stay this mighty evil, it is impossible to calculate what may be its future extension. Shall we, then, continue to uphold and furnish an inducement for the maintenance of this vast system of crime and misery which we profess to deplore and abhor? Humanity, justice, and religion, forbid us so to do; and we therefore confidently cherish the hope that, as one means of discountenancing Slavery, many of our countrymen and countrywomen will now be found willing and determined, as far as in them lies, to relinquish the use of American slave-grown cotton. Nor will they, we trust, be less resolute in reference to other articles, the produce of slave-labor, among which we may specially reckon Carolina rice and tobacco in all its forms.

By such a course as the above, (which we strongly recommend,) they will not only individually perform that which appears to be a manifest duty, but will encourage the efforts of those friends of the slave in America who deem it right thus to act. The number of these is, we learn, decidedly on the increase. We are glad to be able to inform those into whose hands this may fall, that an attempt is being made in this country to obtain a supply of articles manufactured exclusively from cotton the produce of free labor. It has been ascertained that some highly respectable manufacturers are willing to aid in carrying out the wishes of some friends of the Anti-Slavery cause in this country, in making such an article, which will be distinguished by a mark, to show its genuineness. In the first instance, the number of articles produced will be small; but, if encouragement be given to the attempt, a greater variety will hereafter be manufactured and offered for sale.

It has been already ascertained that the members of several Anti-Slavery societies to whom this subject has been submitted, cordially sympathize in the object it recommends.

We respectfully commend the subject to the consideration of the friends of the cause generally. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to add, that those who promote the object have no intention of deriving a profit themselves from the sale of free labor articles. They may be exposed to some loss, and will be glad if any of their friends incline to share with them the risk of the experiment.

Before we close this appeal, we deem it proper to state, that whilst we consider it a duty to abstain, as far as possible, from the use of articles produced by the labor of slaves, as one means of discouraging a wicked system, we deem it no less incumbent upon us to persevere in the use of those moral means, which, in our opinion, should be unceasingly employed until Slavery shall be everywhere utterly abolished.

JOSEPH J. GURNEY, Norwich.
GEORGE THOMAS, } Bristol.
JOSEPH EATON, }
JOSEPH STURGE, Birmingham.
G. W. ALEXANDER, London.

1st Mo. (*January.*) 1st, 1846.

From the Spirit of Liberty.

BLACK LAWS OF OHIO—NEW CODE ABOUT TO BE INSTITUTED.

The Black Law, or the law that was thus denominated, proposed to punish any person that would give food to a man flying from Southern Slavery. The punishment was a heavy fine. We have learned that charges are being preferred against the Rev. Isaac N. McAbee, for giving Mr. Foster and Miss Kelley, now Mrs Foster, their *dinner*. Mr. McAbee is a traveling preacher of the Methodist E. Church, stationed on the circuit including Mt.-Pleasant, in Ohio. The State got ashamed of its law to punish a person for giving bread to a hungry fugitive slave, and repealed it; but the Church which professes to be Anti-Slavery, and "is as much as ever opposed to the great evil of Slavery," gives evidence of a willingness to punish those who feed the slave's friends. This is a new leaf in the Church's devotion to Slavery. We do not see how Mr. McAbee or any other friend of the slave can hold membership in such a Church. If the Church succeeds in this instance, it will establish a new code, or ecclesiastical precedent, that will throw all the Black laws of that State in the shade. We are anxious to learn the result.

Communications.

Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. 1846.

Pursuant to the notification of its President and Secretary, according to its Constitution, this society met at the Tremont Temple, Boston.

On Wednesday morning, January 28th, the President, FRANCIS JACKSON, called the meeting to the consideration of the duties before them.

The meeting was opened with prayer by JOHN M. SPEAR.

DANIEL RICKETSON, of New Bedford; SAMUEL DYER, of Abington; and MARY P. KENNY, of Salem, were, on motion of the Secretary of the society, appointed assistant Secretaries.

A business committee, consisting of the following persons, was then, on motion of W. Phillips, appointed by the meeting, on nomination of the Chair:

W. L. GARRISON, W. PHILLIPS, M. W. CHAPMAN, C. L. REMOND, PARKER PILLSBURY, C. C. BURLEIGH, WILLIAM A. WHITE.

A committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, consisting of the following persons, was, on motion of E. Quincy, nominated by the Chair, and appointed by the meeting:

EDMUND QUINCY, Norfolk county; SETH SPRAGUE, Plymouth county; J. T. HILTON, Middlesex county; J. F. EVERETT, Worcester county; L. MOODY, Barnstable county; NATHAN WEBSTER, Essex county; ROBERT F WALCUTT, Suffolk county; BENJAMIN SNOW, JR. Worcester county.

The following audited report of the Treasurer, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, was then presented and accepted:

The receipts into the treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, from January 20th, 1845, to January 1st, 1846, have been as follows, viz:

Balance of old account,	$285 68
Upton Anti-Slavery Society,	100 00
Collections of Annual meeting,	144 98
Rents,	92 50
Salem Female Anti Slavery Society,	100 00
Sales of books,	245 00
Collections at New England Convention,	186 51
Uxbridge Anti-Slavery Fair,	50 00
Cambridgeport Anti-Slavery Society,	16 00
Weymouth and Braintree Fair,	80 00
Sundry subscriptions,	94 00
	$1,394 67

Disbursements during the same time:—

Rents,	$300 00
Printing annual report,	82 90
Expenses of Annual meeting,	95 25
To the National Society,	150 00
To C. K. Whipple, as agent,	265 59
Expenses of New England Convention,	108 12
Paper,	2 50
S. S. Foster, as agent,	20 00
Handbills,	3 50
Expenses of agents,	14 00
Liberators, gratuitously distributed,	26 00
L. Moody, as agent,	28 15
Total disbursements,	$1,096 01
Leaving balance in treasury, 1st January,	298 66
	$1,394 67

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, *Treasurer.*

January 20th, 1846.

BOSTON, January 24th, 1846.

I have examined the foregoing account of the receipts and disbursements of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, from January 20th, 1845, to the present time, and find the same to be correct.

EDMUND JACKSON, *Auditor.*

A committee on finance and the roll of the meeting consisting of LORING MOODY, J. T. EVERETT, FREDERICK S. CABOT, was then chosen by the meeting, after which selected portions of the report of the Board of Managers, were read by Edmund Quincy, the Corresponding Secretary. End of the first session.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

The subject-matter of the following petition was then discussed, and at intervals afterwards through the whole meeting, by the ablest speakers, till it was finally adopted at the close of the last session, in the following shape, without a dissenting voice; as also were the subjoined resolutions, at various periods of the meeting:

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts.

Whereas, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has, through her Legislature, with great unanimity, in the years 1843, 1844, and 1845, solemnly and strenuously protested against the admission by the Federal Government of the foreign nation of Texas, as a State, into the Union, because the act would be in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, and because it would perpetuate the slavery of a portion of mankind in America, and because it would extend the unequal rule of representation by Federal numbers, over a new region never within the contemplation of those who consented to its establishment at the time of the formation of the Constitution.

And whereas, "the consent of the Executive and Legislative Departments of the Government of the United States has been given" to this iniquitous project, in a manner as unconstitutional as it was possible, and the aforesaid "foreign nation of Texas" is now recognized as one of the States of the Union, therefore the undersigned, citizens and inhabitants of this Commonwealth, respectfully and earnestly call upon the Legislature to declare "that Massachusetts hereby refuses to acknowledge the act of the Government of the United States authorizing the admission of Texas as a legal act:" that the annexation of a large slaveholding territory, at the will of the Government of the United States, with the declared intention of giving strength to the institution of Domestic Slavery in these States, is an alarming encroachment upon the rights of the freemen of the Union; a perversion of the principles of republican government; a deliberate assault upon the compromises of the Constitution; and demands the strenuous, united, and persevering opposition of all persons, without distinction, who claim to be the friends of human liberty;"—that, inasmuch as the Union has ceased to exist, and its recognition as still binding, by Massachusetts would be traitorous to the cause of human liberty—to sanction a great national crime—to submit to an absolute despotism—to co-operate for the extension and perpetuation of Slavery and the Slave-Trade—and at the same time to give the lie to all the solemn declarations of Massachusetts in regard to the annexation of Texas—therefore it is the duty of the Senators and Representatives from this State in Congress, immediately to return home to their constituents; and the duty of the people of Massachusetts immediately to hold a general convention, for the purpose of framing an independent and free Government, either for herself alone, or with such other States as may be disposed to co-operate with her in trampling upon tyranny, and carrying into full effect the self-evident truths set forth in the old Declaration of Independence.

2. Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to report a delegation of two gentlemen, to be invited by this society at the present time to visit Hâiti for three months on anti-slavery duties; and that they be intrusted with such letters and instructions as the committee shall deem expedient; also, that their necessary expenses and a suitable salary be paid them from the funds of this society.

[Hereupon W. Phillips, C. L. Remond, and M. W. Chapman were chosen a committee to report a delegation; and they subsequently reported the names of CHARLES LENOX REMOND, and DAVID LEE CHILD, as envoys of the Society.]

3. Resolved, That the friends of the cause in those towns of the State where separate colored schools are established, be urged to see to it that our colored fellow-citizens are fully informed of their rights under the recent law of this Commonwealth, and afford them all possible aid in securing the full and equal enjoyment of the public schools—and if either the terms of the law or the indifference of the public shall suffice to keep in life this enormous abuse of the common school system, then so to bring the matter before the people of the State, as to correct this injustice.

4. Resolved, That Charles Sumner and Ralph Waldo Emerson, who have refused to lecture before the New-Bedford Lyceum on account of the exclusion of colored persons, deserve the warmest thanks of every friend of justice and humanity. And we rejoice that the testimony thus nobly borne, comes from a quarter which must strike a strong blow against the prejudice of color, and carry home a severe rebuke to those who, by their acts have yielded to the base and wicked spirit of the South, and violated the boasted principles of northern liberty.

5. Resolved, That the friends of the anti-slavery cause be urged to co-operate in placing in the hands of the Board of Managers as large a sum as practicable, to be exclusively devoted to the support of agents in this Commonwealth. [Upwards of $1,800 were raised in cash and pledges during the meetings.]

6. Resolved, That we regard the visit of Frederick Douglass across the ocean, as an American slave, with feelings of warm commendation and brotherly regard; that the generous and highly honorable reception which has been given to him by the people of Ireland, fills us with unmingled pleasure, as it will inflict a staggering blow on the Anti-Republican and Anti-Christian spirit of American caste; and that, not doubting that the same hospitable and manly treatment which he has experienced in the Emerald Isle, will be extended to him by the people of Scotland, and England, and that his foreign mission will be of the largest service to our enterprise, we trust he will, in due time, be returned in safety to the guilty land of his birth, to join again with us in toils and sacrifices for her full redemption.

7. Whereas, There is a point in the progress of despotism, beyond which endurance cannot go, and it would be criminal passively to submit; and

Whereas that point has already been attained in the course of a long series of the most frightful strides on the part of the slave power of this country,—destroying in its progress the sacred right of petition, of locomotion, of free speech, and the freedom of the press,—trampling upon the Constitution and prostrating every bulwark of religious and political freedom,—seizing by fraud and violence a vast foreign territory, and in the same profligate spirit annexing it to the United States, and still grasping for more for the avowed purpose of protecting, extending, and perpetuating a system of unequalled tyranny, pollution, and blood,—and finally dooming the citizens of this Commonwealth to chains and Slavery, if caught in Southern ports; therefore

Resolved, That, standing in FANEUIL HALL, the cradle of a world-famous revolution, animated, we trust, by as pure a spirit of patriotism, and as ardent a zeal in the cause of human liberty as our revolutionary sires, but, substituting, for their weapons of warfare, those of an ethereal temper, which are mighty through God, to the pulling down of every stronghold of tyranny—we hereby declare to the country and to the world, that the time has come for the overthrow of the existing national Government, the repeal of the national compact, and the formation of a *Northern free league* for the establishment of a new Union, in which there shall exist no tyrant or slave, but every man shall be put in the full possession of all his inalienable rights.

8. Resolved, That the special thanks of this society are proffered to our untiring coadjutor, HENRY C. WRIGHT, for the fidelity with which he has unmasked the vaunted Free Church of Scotland, in conniving at the great iniquity of American Slavery, by soliciting and receiving its pecuniary assistance and religious co-operation, for all his labors abroad to secure, in aid of our Anti-Slavery enterprise, the generous sympathies and Christian co-operation of the good and philanthropic in England and Europe; and in particular for the revelation which he has made to them as to the guilty compromises of the American Union—thus invoking their moral abhorrence of such an unholy compact, and securing their righteous testimony against it.

9. Resolved, That this Society hails with the most cordial satisfaction, the resolutions of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland, passed at Glasgow, in July last; and, in answer to the charge of being anti-Church, this society replies, that with churches acting up to those principles, it has no fault to find.

10. Resolved, That the liberal assistance which has been rendered to this society, through the medium of the late Faneuil Bazaar, is gratefully appreciated, as affording at present the main staff of the pecuniary efficiency of our operations, and as giving fresh evidence of the fact, that, as in the Anti-Slavery struggle in England, so, in a similar struggle in this country, it is to the women that the credit is due of being the first and foremost on the score of zeal, activity, and self-sacrifice, to secure for bleeding humanity a speedy deliverance.

11. Resolved, That the American Colonization Society is now what it ever was,—the determined enemy of the slave, in the false guise of professed friendship.—It seeks, by pointing to the shores of Africa, to turn away the eyes of the benevolent from the suffering slave in our own country, and to absorb the sympathies of the kindly-hearted in favor of a scheme designed to "guard that system" of bondage under which three millions suffer, from the influences of freedom—by removing those influences out of the way; and blasphemously appeals to the religious sentiment, and seeks to perpetuate the most unholy prejudice to enable it to effect its object: and it is therefore, further

Resolved, That Anti-Slavery lecturers should make it a part of their business to unmask the monster from time to time, and not suffer it to regain the footing that, under a former exposure, it had lost.

12. Resolved, That the action of the last meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in regard to the crime of holding human beings in slavery, in addition to its previous course on the same subject, proves beyond intelligent and honest contradiction, that that body is inherently and "organically" corrupt and time-serving, and therefore totally disqualified from comprehending, sanctioning, or spreading abroad the glorious Gospel of Him who came to proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound: therefore, further

Resolved, That the friends of God and man should as carefully withold their donations from this American Board while it occupies its present position and is under its present guidance, as they would from any other conclave of "scribes, pharisees, and hypocrites."

13. Resolved, That the triumph of the scheme of Texan Annexation, carried forward by the might and influence of the Federal Government, in spite of the many leading men publicly pledged against it,—the great party which threw down before it its gage of defiance,—the large interests jeoparded by its success,—the risk of war,—the solemn pledge of treaties,—the deliberate and repeated protest of a leading State,—the half-awakened conscience of the nation,—the moral sentiment of the age,—is enough to show us that no success is to be hoped for in our contest, unless we throw off the trammels of the United States Constitution, concentrate our efforts on Slavery itself, and carry on the warfare under no party guidance, in no single channel, but in the united name "of justice, humanity, and the living God."

14. Resolved, That, while many, startled by the recent growth and triumph of the slave-system, are seeking some popular war-cry with which to rally for the moment the opposers of its demands, or timidly, and in obedience to a halting public opinion, are concentrating their efforts on some odious incident of the system, or single act of its supporters, we frankly declare our warfare to be, as always heretofore, with the whole slave-system itself; our object, its immediate and total abolition; and our conviction, that the only path to this result will be over the ruins of the present American Church, and the present American Union.

Resolved further, That we rejoice to see all about us, in the speeches of single men, the actions of public bodies, the tone of public sentiment, and even the voice of a comparatively dependent press, the thick-coming evidences of great change on the subject of Disunion—and that many minds are rapidly ripening to the conviction, that the only hope for liberty this side of the water is in the policy of no union with slaveholders.

15. Resolved, That, recognizing in the deputation from the English Friends now visiting this country, some of the leaders of that committee which conspired to exclude from the London Convention of 1840, the delegates of the American Anti-Slavery Society, we are not surprised that their whole course in this country has been marked by a despicable sectarianism, and a base servility to corrupt public opinion, and a uniform sympathy with the oppressor.

16. Resolved, That, in consequence of the signal victory achieved by the slave-power during the past year, by the annexation of Texas to this Union, there is great danger that a moral paralysis will seize on the popular mind and heart; and that an event which, in view of its unparalleled atrocity, *should* be the cause of the speedy downfall of Slavery by combining against it the irresistible power of the people, will only give a new and long lease to its existence, and extinguish the last hope for the salvation of the Republic.

17. Resolved, That, rising in determination, energy, and spirit, with the emergency of the times,—taking our position by the side of the altar of Liberty,—we hereby consecrate ourselves anew to the cause of our enslaved fellow-countrymen, and register our declaration afresh, that, come what may, we will never yield one inch of ground to the foe, but press on to the last hour of our existence, if need be for the triumphant termination of our great enterprise.

The above resolutions were all adopted with great unanimity; after the fullest and freest discussion by the following-named friends of the cause: Wendell Phillips, G. W. F. Mellen, Edmund Quincy, Charles Lenox Remond, Daniel Ricketson, C. C. Burleigh, Wm. A. White, Henry Wilson, William Lloyd Garrison, Parker Pillsbury, I. C. Ray, John Lewis Russell, J. B. Sanderson, Henry Clapp, ——— Hayward, J. T. Everett, D. S. Grandin, E. Mack, J. M. Fiske, William Jenkins, John M. Spear, Addison Davis, ——— Smith, ——— Jewett, Seth Sprague, Warren Burton, Jonathan Walker.

Every session (and there were *nine*,—one being an immense concourse in Faneuil Hall,—fully four thousand persons by the best calculation that could be made) was deeply interesting; and the last made doubly so by the public adhesion of one of the few remaining fathers of our revolutionary times,—Seth Sprague, of Duxbury, Massachusetts,—to the disunion principle as applied to the existing American institutions of Government. A brilliant performer on the organ, Mr. Townly, immediately gave a very beautiful performance—"Ode to Liberty," which he dedicated "to the Hon. Seth Sprague," amid the rapturous applause of the deeply affected audience. The speeches, throughout, were of great argumentative power and eloquence.

The officers chosen for the coming year were,

President—FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

Vice Presidents—Seth Sprague, Duxbury; Oliver Gardner, Nantucket; Andrew Robeson, New Bedford; Samuel May Leicester; Nathaniel B Borden, Fall River; Harris Cowdry, Acton; Stillman Lothiop, Cambridge; Nathan Webster, Haverhill; Amos Farnsworth, Groton; George Hoyt, Athol; Joseph Southwick, Chelsea; Theodore P. Locke, Westminster; William Bassett, Lynn; Adin Ballou, Milford; John C. Gore, Roxbury; John M. Fiske, West Brookfield; Caroline Weston, New Bedford; Joshua T. Everett, Princeton; Effingham L. Capron, Uxbridge; Zenas Rhoades, N. Marlboro'; Wm. B. Earle, Leicester; Benjamin Snow, jr, Fitchburg; Jefferson Church, Springfield; Josiah Gifford, Sandwich; Horatio G. Wood, Middleboro'; George Miles, Westminster, Wm. B. Stone, Gardner; James N. Buffum, Lynn; Cyrus Pierce, Newton; John T. Hilton, Cambridge.

Corresponding Secretary—Edmund Quincy, Dedham.
Recording Secretary—Henry W. Williams, Boston.
Treasurer—Samuel Philbrick, Brookline.
Auditor—Edmund Jackson, Boston.

Counsellors.

William Lloyd Garrison,	Maria W. Chapman,
Cornelius Bramhall,	Henry I. Bowditch,
Robert F. Walcutt,	John M. Spear,
Wendell Phillips,	John Rogers,
Anne W. Weston,	Charles L. Remond,
Eliza Lee Follen,	Charles K. Whipple.

The society adjourned, very late on Friday night, January 30th, *sine die.*

DANIEL RICKETSON, }
SAMUEL DYER, } Secretaries.
MARY P. KENNY, }

Letter from Philadelphia.

To my respected friend "G.":—Among many excellent remarks in your article, denominated "The Church," there are others for which I would respectfully ask your reconsideration. You write,—

"Never was there a church that was not the true Church. It matters not how untrue it may be by comparison, how simple in its faith, how poor in its works, how trifling in its objects, yet it is sometime the true Church of God to that people, their highest outward manifestation of the best that is in them. It matters not by what name it be called, whether Jewish or Pagan, Christian or Mahometan, it is God manifest in the flesh, to that age and nation."

Now, my dear Sir, whether you use the word church in its scriptural import, an assembly or association of persons for religious purposes, (ecclesia,) or whether, as I understand you, you mean "their religious faith," I must, for the honor of the Holy One, protest against this statement. Let us compare it with another, which every one acquainted with history, whether Christian or infidel, must acknowledge to be the true one. "When they knew God, (*i. e.* in the works of creation,) they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools; and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and to four-footed beasts, and creeping things."—[Romans, chap 1.] Such was "their religious faith." Was this "*God* manifest in the flesh," or was it the *Devil* manifest in the flesh? Was this "the highest outward manifestation of the *best* that is in them," or was it the highest outward manifestation of the *worst* that is in them? Does not my friend know that the "religious faith" of the Heathen is a system of gross and obscene idolatries, involving the worship of almost every creature, both animate and inanimate? To the gods they worshipped they ascribed the vilest actions. The same gods, as St. Austin observes, "were laughed at in the theatres and adored in the temples." Has not my respected friend, (contrary, I am assured, to his own intention,) dishonored the pure majesty of Heaven and earth, by representing that such "religious faith," or the persons who hold it, can, in any sense, be "the true Church of God."

You remark—

"The Chinese who burns his bit of gilded paper to propitiate his river-god, &c. and the Christian who brings the sacrifice of a repentant spirit to the altar of the Lord, and seeks in the purity of his life on earth, to obtain a life in heaven, both may be sincere worshippers, and both create a church which is to each the Church of the living God. God alone, who readeth the hearts of all men, can say which is the most acceptable church to Him."

Alas! Sir, is this our condition more than eighteen centuries after God has spoken to us by his Son? He came down from heaven to declare his Father's Name, to teach us to worship Him in spirit and in truth. He has brought life and immortality to light. He has connected that favor, which is better than life, with the true worship of his Father. Can it be, then, that we are groping in such mental darkness as not to know which is most acceptable to the living God, the man who offers the sacrifice of a contrite spirit and purity of life, or the man who, with obscene rites, worships Juggernaut? Have we yet to learn, whether the man who believes Jesus Christ to be the true prophet of God, or he who believes Mahomet is such, is the most acceptable to Jehovah? Then is the New Testament, which teaches us that *no man cometh to the Father but by the Son*, fabulous and false.

But Pagans and Mahometans are "sincere." Yes, very sincere, truly. Men with the New Testament in their hands, not only affirm that Mahomet was a greater prophet of God than He who is the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of his person, but they sincerely, (i. e. really,) believe it. They really and sincerely reject the Son of God, not for lack of evidence of the verity of his claims, but (Jesus Christ being judge) because they seek the honor which cometh from man, and not the honor of God. Sincerely do men prefer their own will-worship, the traditions and idolatries of their fathers, to the true worship of the living God. What, I ask, will such sincerity avail with Him who declares, "In vain do ye worship me, teaching, for doctrines, the commandments of men?"

How my respected friend arrives at the conclusion that "a church may, and must have been sometime the true Church," I do not perceive. It appears to me to be contrary to obvious fact. The Mahometan Church has *always* set the false prophet above Jesus Christ. That Church, consequently, has always been a false Church and always will be, as long as it exists. The same may justly be affirmed of the churches, or, (as you explain the term,) "religious faith" of Pagan idolators. All these present a gloomy and lamentable contrast to the true Christian Church of the living God, the principles of which, I rejoice to know, you acknowledge to be "high and holy."

Respectfully, your affectionate friend,

HENRY GREW.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, FEB. 12, 1846.

☞ We give place to the following excellent report of Mr. Pillsbury's speech in Faneuil Hall, at the meeting of the Massachusetts Society, in preference to occupying the same space with matter of our own. We think our friends in Pennsylvania, who have written us recently for "more editorial," will be satisfied with our substitute this week.—G.

Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.—Speech of Parker Pillsbury, in Faneuil Hall, January 29th, 1846.

It is not a correct statement that this is the first time that our doctrines have been uttered in Faneuil Hall. In 1775 the doctrine of dissolution was here proclaimed: the very doctrine which the Abolitionists advocate. We have just been shown the nature of Slavery, and eloquently invited to the examination of its encroachments upon us. It seems we have endured them to a tremendous extent. It was well said that our fathers never felt what we have felt. *They* WOULD *not* do it. But if, instead of the fathers, George the Third had had the sons to deal with, I fear his tyranny would have met with no resistance,—that no blood or treasure would have been sacrificed for liberty—that no monument would have been needed to crown the summit of Bunker Hill.

I wish I could but make this audience feel, as I feel it, the subserviency of the North to the spirit of Slavery When Charles *Gag* Atherton performed his shameless deed, I was living in New Hampshire; but so deeply did I feel the disgrace put upon that State, that I always took care to say, at that time, that I was born in Massachusetts. That deed was done in the name of the New Hampshire Democracy, which is so plenty in that State that it almost grows on the Barberry-bushes; that Democracy which is part and parcel of the Democracy of Massachusetts, too; and if I should say what I feel about it, I might provoke the hisses of many among the vast multitude I see around me.

But this is no time to reproach one another. In this case we are all common sufferers and common victims, I meant not to be invidious. I spoke but of a fact.—There is now a redeeming feature in the New Hampshire Democracy, which makes me proud to say that, though born in Massachusetts, I live in New Hampshire; and that State may yet become the banner State of Liberty, if her sons do but rise like Hale, to blot out the memory of the degradation heaped on her by Atherton. When the South wants dirty work done, she always seeks a Northern tool; and Charles G. Atherton, from Democratic New Hampshire consented to perform a work that no slaveholder could be found mean enough to do. It was a Northern freeman that was selected to cleave down the cause of freedom on the floor of Congress. To the shame of the North it must be told, that when her sons fail to do the bidding of the South, she shrinks away from them as from rebellious children. Why was Martin Van Buren rejected from the Baltimore Presidential Convention? It would seem wonderful that he, whom the robes of office had so well become before, on whom the mantle of one who was just ascending like Elijah from the gaze of an admiring people, seemed to fall, in attestation of his claims to succeed him again—it would seem strange that he whose ability and fidelity to his party had been so fully endorsed by its great prophet from "The Hermitage," could not but have gained its suffrages. Why was he rejected? New Hampshire was there, pledged to sustain him—all the New England States were there, pledged to sustain him: the South was there with her scheme of Texan Annexation, and before she could pledge herself to sustain him, she raked over the cold ashes on the altar of his soul, and there discovered a single spark, no bigger than the spot beneath the firefly's wing,—and she made him a martyr to the holiest principles he ever cherished.

When Van Buren was to be thus sacrificed, who appeared as the hangman. No Southern State thus demeaned itself. They looked from their own Slavery-smitten levels, to the mountain-land of New Hampshire, on whose hills we might have supposed that, as an Ararat the ark of freedom rested, and *there* was found the ready tool they wanted, and so it always is.

What does the North gain by her servility? The contempt of the South, by a law of human nature which every human being feels, and which compels every human being to despise the servile-minded. The South must have the nomination of a President, and the North must stand quietly by and wait for them; and what did they do? Passing by every man the North knew anything of, they ransacked the canebrakes of Tennessee,—and they discovered—James K. Polk! (laughter and applause.) James K. Polk! who had no more dreamed of being fit for President than of being fit for Heaven! (Applause.) But they brightened up James K. Polk, and told folks he had been Governor of *Tennessee*. How many of this audience, I should like to know, knows who's Governor of *Tennessee* this minute? (Great applause.) When the Speaker of our New Hampshire House of Representatives was told of it,—"James K. Polk!" said he,—"Why, who the Devil's *he?*" (Applause.) I submit to this audience how the South *must* regard the North, in view of such facts as the one I am going to relate. Before the nomination of the Baltimore Convention, there was not a press in New Hampshire which did not oppose the scheme of Texan Annexation. But after they learned what the Convention had done, and how the South had ranged through the canebrakes and *scared* up James K. Polk, then they all changed their tone in an instant. The editor of the Nashua Gazette had said, all the year before, of the Annexation scheme, that "it was black as ink, and bitter as hell." But presto!—at the voice of the South it became white as the plumage of an angel's wing, and sweet as the nectar of the gods! The South has despised that man ever since. It is not in the philosophy of man's mind *not* to despise them who cringe and crawl, and you all know it.

Now, we're a very important part of God's creation, up in New Hampshire!—in our estimation at least,—and it's well for us to take it into consideration how our own State is made to appear in the eyes of the world, by such men. Now there's Henry Hubbard;—he went down to Washington, because he wanted an office, the papers said; and there might be more truth than poetry in their assertion. (Hisses.) I have no disposition to be severe in my remarks. *I* don't suppose *anybody* ever went to Washington to get office. (Roars of laughter and applause.) However that might be, it proved with Henry Hubbard a very unsatisfactory journey, so far as taking office was concerned. The Cabinet was full—the Foreign missions were all taken up, so every little piece of home-preferment; and like the man in the story, if Henry Hubbard had asked for a suit of old clothes to go home in, he had stooped too low at Southern bidding before, to have the request granted. Who is going to pay anything for a man that can be had for nothing!

I met, a little while ago, with another illustration of how the South regards her tools. It was at Stoughton, where I had had a meeting. There were at the place where I put up, a couple of Marylanders,—traders in shoes and boots. I asked them to go to the meeting.—They blustered, and talked about invasions of their rights, incendiary speeches, &c. I told them we, at the North, merely wanted, on *this* occasion, as a matter of the merest pecuniary expediency, to find out by examination of the subject, what Slavery had done for us. And then I told them of the single town of Lynn: and how her dealings with slaveholders, and dependence upon their credit, had lost her $3,000,000 in no long period of time. Well! what do you think your Southern masters said? "What do you talk of what you have lost by us, for to—you 've got rich upon what we *have* paid you." So with the whole South—no matter whether we 're paid what is our due or not; and our very prosperity made a sign and token of our servitude. I spoke to them then, of the comparative intelligence of the North and the South. Said one of these Marylanders, in reply—"I think New Hampshire the most degraded, barbarized State in the Union." "True," said a bystander, "or she 'd never have done as she has done, at the dictates of Southern slaveholders." Her democracy have shown a thorough meanness of character, almost unexampled. (Partial hissing.) There is but one other such instance of cringing submission—the Whig party of Massachusetts. (Partial applause.) I said I had no reproaches to make in this hour of common calamity. I speak but of facts. You are not bound to believe what I say, if it is not true; and if it is truth that I have uttered, no expressions of disapprobation can change it into falsehood. If the working people of the country only understood these matters as they are, they would soon make a change. But how are they to know, through all the pro-slavery influences with which the selfish and sectarian interests of the priest and politician surround them? Their ministers have *simmered* them so long in the damnable doctrines of the day, that there's no reaching them.

A fact or two will show you just how the country stands. It's no matter how much *slaves* are wronged—no matter how much *colored citizens* of this State are wronged—but our *wealthy men*—our *Boston merchants* had been wronged. Their sailors had been taken out of their vessels in Southern ports—imprisoned, and in sundry cases sold to pay their jail fees, to the great inconvenience of these merchants. *Then* the State bestirred itself, and appointed a commissioner to examine the cases, to bring before the Supreme Court of the nation the subject of the legality of such a course towards Northern seamen in Southern ports. Who did the State appoint? Was it the fanatic William Lloyd Garrison, or Wendell Phillips?—by no means. Up in Middlesex county, had retired from the great trusts of public life, a man whose hoary head was crowned with the well-won laurels of a long and honored career. He was no fanatical Abolitionist. He was no friend of the colored race. He had, on the contrary, prepared himself for his legal mission, by the payment of $100 to the safety-valve of Southern Slavery,—the Colonization Society; and thus prepared for the occasion, with the seal of a commission, from a sovereign State of this Union, strong in the high character his public life had won, clothed with the admiration and confidence of his fellow-citizens, and protected, moreover, as it might be thought, by the presence of his invalid daughter hanging on his arm, he entered South Carolina, as the Representative, among others, of this audience—the thousands who now stand before me. And how was this audience treated by the South, in his person? They just kicked you out of their borders, and sent you sneaking home. The ermine of Massachusetts was overwrapped with the appropriate Southern mantle—a cloak of tar and feathers!

"Well"—Massachusetts said, "*Congress* shall hear of this. John Quincy Adams shall bring it up." So he did: and quick as lightning the South laid it on the table, as if your rights and your honor were nothing but a mere lifeless corpse, all ready for the coffin. She says you 're fit for nothing but slaves, and in God's name I ask, have n't you given her cause? You had one there, whom you have called, in your almost blasphemous idolatry of his transcendent powers, "the God-like." He bent not his sable brows—he shook not his curls, like Jove on high Olympus, to give his word of sanction to your attempt at utterance in Congress. Where was the voice of your "God-like," *then?* Despair and death were falling upon you—but his hand was not raised in your behalf. The South makes mock

The Right of Suffrage.

This question is a very puzzling one for the Liberty party, for, go which way they will, it must most certainly hasten their downfall. If they refuse to make nominations of their own, and vote with either party which will advocate the right of suffrage, they abandon a cardinal principle of their own, that the Whigs and Democrats are not in any case to be trusted. If, on the other hand, they make their own nominations, many of them feel the dilemma in which they would be placed, and which is thus expressed in a recent letter of Alvan Stewart:—"We could not stand as a party, the obloquy of not having aided the colored men, if they are successful *without us*; nor could, or should, we be able to turn aside the withering reproach of having refused to vote for men pledged to the colored suffrage, because they were not Liberty party men."

The first course—to refrain from making their own nominations—is advocated by Alvan Stewart, the Utica Free Press, the Herkimer Freeman, the Syracuse Liberty Intelligencer, and the Impartial Countryman, while the opposite course is advocated by Beriah Green, Gerrit Smith, the Albany Patriot and the Cortland True American. The colored people, so far as I can learn, are universally opposed to the latter. The battle is waging with considerable fury on both sides. The Albany Patriot insists upon reading out of the party all who do not agree with it, while they with equal warmth, assert their right to do as they please in this matter, and yet maintain their standing in the party. A large meeting was held at Winfield, the week before last, at which an address, made by Gerrit Smith, advocating his view of the duty of the party at this crisis, was adopted. A number of those present, however, are reported not to have voted, as they were yet undecided as to what course the party ought to pursue.

Meanwhile, the two great parties are silent. As parties they have taken no definite position, although various papers on both sides have given opinions both for and against the extension of the right of suffrage. The question will unquestionably be a party one, and if either party is really desirous of giving their rights to the colored people, it is time they took a position. A decided stand now, would, no doubt, induce many of the Liberty party men who are wavering, to give their adherence to either party that shall go for the right of suffrage. If the Whigs mean to be that party it is time they showed their colors. They may be sure they will not receive the support of voting Abolitionists, unless they show themselves to be most decidedly and unequivocally the friends of the colored man.

Oregon Correspondence.

On Saturday last, a message was received from the President to the House of Representatives, accompanied by a recent correspondence relative to Oregon. We give a brief synopsis:

I. Mr. Buchanan, December 13, writes to Mr. McLane, Minister to Great Britain, directing him to inquire into the object of the warlike preparations of that Government.

II. Mr. McLane replies, January 3, that in an interview with Lord Aberdeen, he was assured that these preparations are not made with particular reference to any apprehended difficulty with the United States. That, to-be-sure, the preparation would be found convenient in case of any outbreak which might be possible, but that Great Britain wishes to remain on the most friendly terms with the United States. Lord Aberdeen assumed that his Government were only carrying out the wise maxim, "in time of peace prepare for war." On all which, Mr. McLane, plainly, though with considerable circumlocution, intimates his belief that his Lordship lies.

III. Mr. Packenham to Mr. Buchanan, December 27, in a frank and manly spirit proposes arbitration by some third power to decide the Oregon question. The territory, he thinks not worth a war to either nation.

IV. Mr. Buchanan to Mr. Packenham, January 3, declines the offer. To submit to arbitration the question of division, would be to yield the ground again and again taken by the President and the undersigned, that the United States was entitled to the *whole* of Oregon.

V. Mr. Packenham to Mr. Buchanan, January 16, informs him of the trifling fact, that Great Britain also professes to have some claim to Oregon, which claim is a slight obstacle in the way of yielding to the demands of the United States without a question. He makes, however, another proposition,—if both Governments are willing, to submit the question of title to arbitration, with the understanding that if neither party should be found entitled to the whole territory, that then an equitable division should be made; or if this mode of arbitration is not agreeable, to submit the question to a mixed Commission with an umpire; or a Board composed of distingui-hed civilians and jurists. The undersigned earnestly urges the Secretary to fix upon some mode of arbitration.

VI. Mr. Buchanan to Mr. Packenham, February 4, declines the offers made; he does not at all like the idea of submitting to a division when the arbitrators shall have decided that neither party is entitled to the whole of Oregon! He enlarges upon the very forcible argument, that Oregon is of great value and *convenience* to the United States, but is of comparatively little importance to Great Britain, and while he assures Mr. Packenham, that he is perfectly aware that such arguments cannot affect the title of either party, he reiterates them to show cause why the President is unwilling the question should be submitted to anybody but the Government of the United States!

This terminates the correspondence. It is marked with the usual features of roguery and littleness which so frequently distinguish our Government, and make it doubtful whether it will be, by other nations, most laughed at for its folly, or detested for its knavery.

Massachusetts.

Hon. Henry Wilson, of Natick, presented, in the Legislature, last week, an order that the Joint Special Committee on the Resolves of the State of Georgia, inquire into the expediency of passing the preamble and resolution which follow. They were laid on the table for the present, on motion of Mr. Wilson. This probably is the precursor of a movement to divide the Whig party of that State, into anti-slavery and pro-slavery Whigs. Thus for, at least, we may hope Massachusetts is ready to go for liberty. At least let her maintain her old reputation for good resolutions:

Whereas, Three millions of men are held as slaves by the laws of a portion of the States of this Republic—deprived of their inalienable rights—robbed of their humanity, and degraded to the condition of mere property; and whereas, the slaveholding States have obtained by the Constitution of the United States, a representation of this species of property, thus combining vast pecuniary interest and political power, giving them an undue and disastrous influence over the policy of the General Government; and whereas, the slave power, by a long series of aggressions upon the rights and interests of the freemen of the Union, has disturbed their commercial and business relations—has violated solemn treaties, and involved them in wars with the Aborigines—has restricted, by unlawful and violent measures, the freedom of speech and the liberty of the press—has imprisoned and sold into Slavery some of their number, guilty of no crime, and made an appeal to the Supreme Court in their behalf, a penal offence; and whereas, by a recent alarming assumption of unauthorized power, a foreign slaveholding nation has been forced into the Union, for the avowed purpose of upholding and perpetuating human bondage—thus compelling this Republic to assume the revolting and humiliating position of legislating for Slavery, and against freedom; and by the glaring wrong thus perpetuated, to forfeit all claim to the protection of Him who has declared that "*righteousness exalteth a nation, and vice is a reproach to any people;*" and whereas, by these repeated aggressions, putting in jeopardy the predominance of civil liberty in our Government, and threatening its entire subversion, the issue is now distinctly presented to the people of the free States, of an unconditional and pusilanimous submission, or a determined constitutional resistance; therefore,

Resolved, That Massachusetts distinctly and solemnly announces to the country her uncompromising opposition to the farther extension and longer existence of American Slavery; that she hereby deliberately declares her earnest and unalterable purpose to use every lawful and constitutional measure for its overthrow and entire extinction; and she here pledges her cordial co-operation, to the friends of civil liberty throughout the Union, in every just and practical measure that shall tend to free our country from the dominion, curse, and shame of Slavery, and make her great and glorious among the nations.

Henry Grew's Letter.

My revered friend Henry Grew will accept an apology for the unavoidable delay in the appearance of his letter. It has been crowded out for the fortnight since it was received, by subjects which had a more immediate importance as the news of the week.

I had no expectation of provoking a reply by the article on the Church, nor have I now any intention of entering into any discussion upon the subject. Such a discussion would be foreign to the purpose of this journal. We have nothing to do with the Church, aside from its anti-slavery or pro-slavery position. The editors of the organ of the American Society, as editors, are bound to respect the theological views of all persons alike, inasmuch as the Society itself asks of its members agreement in one thing only, namely, the sinfulness of Slavery, and the duty of immediate emancipation. The Jew, the Mahometan, the Pagan, and the Christian, have all the same rights upon our platform; and neither has any right to meddle with the religious views of the other. To any one feeling aggrieved, however, the privilege of a reply is always accorded, and, therefore, is a place given to Mr. Grew's letter.

Upon the letter itself I have only a very few words to say. In speaking of the Church in a general sense, I intended to be understood as referring to that Institution as the outward form, put on everywhere, and always, of the religious sentiment. There has never yet been a people known, in whom that sentiment was not the deepest of their soul, the development of which, constituted a Church to them. God alone, who can alone read the hearts of men, can tell what form of worship is to Him the most acceptable, for the form is but a sign. Is there not many a Pagan who is a better Christian than millions who are called by that name? Does Christianity mean a form of worship, or is it the living truth which is above all form? This may be heresy, but I know no better philosophy.

A Mystery Solved!

Mr. Paine, of Oxford, Massachusetts, who has earned the soubriquet of "the great unshot," from the various unsuccessful attempts which have been made to assassinate him, published a letter in the Globe of Thursday, in which, it is generally conceded, he has fully earned the privilege of being pronounced a fool, though nobody will believe him to be the knave he has tried to prove himself. His story is, that some months ago he became acquainted with an envoy of two agents of foreign powers, who were in correspondence with Santa Anna, and Paredes, and others in Mexico,—that the envoy was then on his way to Havana with despatches, and having lost, by gambling, the money advanced him, entrusted Mr. Paine with the letters to carry to Havana. "For reasons best known to myself," he says, "I have no particular love for Santa Anna, and I determined to know what intrigue he was engaged in." He accordingly opened the despatches and became possessed of an important State secret. He went to the parties concerned, and offered, for a certain consideration, to give up the papers, and threatened to expose them if his terms were not complied with. They thought it cheaper, however, to kill him than to buy him, and here is the secret of the attempted assasinations. After the last attempt he waited on the parties concerned at Washington, and informed them that the papers were in the hands of a third person, and would be opened in case of his death. An agreement was then entered into by which the papers, after a certain date, are to be delivered on payment of a sum of money. This is the amount of Mr. Paine's story. What can be his motive for putting in circulation so improbable and ridiculous a narrative, is matter of conjecture. At the close of his letter he adds:

With reference to the contents of the papers, I will take the liberty to remark, that they were of a nature to enable me to predict, more than six months ago, to the Hon David Henshaw, Messrs. Clinton De Witt, of New-York, and Granville Parker, of Worcester, my counsellors, and many others, the present state of affairs in Mexico; and I now confidently state, that within twelve months from this date, Santa Anna will be Viceroy of Mexico. And further, let the Spanish Government look to it, or Cuba will change masters. With reference to my predictions as to Santa Anna's position within twelve months, I wish to insert this clause: *Providing he does not sell, or has not sold, his knowledge of English intrigue to the Spanish Government.*

Whiggism and Slavery.

The New-York Tribune is a most excellent paper, and has done, and is doing, some service in awakening the minds of the people to the wrong of American Slavery.—But it is a question whether it may not, eventually, do greater mischief than can be counterbalanced by the good it is now doing, in turning the Anti-Slavery sentiment of the country, which may be influenced by it, away from the true channel, and satisfy it by giving it half-measures, and half-results in the Whig party. Still we like the Tribune, and are thankful for what little it is doing for the cause, and can very easily forgive the incidental, but very contemptible and little thrusts which it now and then makes at Abolitionists, as a whole, or at distinguished individuals among them.

But the great Whig organ will pardon me if I actually dared to be amused at its leading article in Tuesday's paper. I had even the audacity to laugh at it, and nothing but my innate reverence for everybody's opinion—at least, everybody of any consequence—by which the Tribune is pronounced a wonderfully great and remarkable paper, prevented me from pronouncing it, for once, a "humbug!" It is not often that I reach such a pitch of temerity, for the great ones of the earth are not to be reviled rashly; but I may as well confess that a similar suspicion has, once or twice before, flitted across my mind—namely, that there is the least possible, hardly perceptible, aroma of the atmosphere of "humbug" about our never-to-be-sufficiently-admired, and universally glorified neighbor.

When the Express undertakes to read the Globe an excellent imitation of the Caudle Lectures, because that brave and sapient organ of "progressive Democracy" does not go for negro-suffrage, and we recollect that the Express is only rivalled by the "great Globe itself" in its negro-hating propensities, the only wonder is, that the Express is not able to see what an inexpressible jackass it makes of itself. But when the Tribune commits an act of precisely the same character, if we may not be permitted to esteem it a fool, nor yet audibly pronounce it an unmistakable "humbug," we at least may be permitted to mourn over the occasional weaknesses to which all great minds are subject.

A Committee of the Common Council of Brooklyn have, it seems, been appointed to make a report on the remarkable proposition "that education is the implacable foe of Democracy." In their report they make some not very pleasant, but rather indistinct charges against the Whigs, which it was very silly to make, and hardly less so to answer.

But the Tribune brings in the African race, to show that the Democrats have "always opposed the progress of liberal principles, and the extension of privileges to the *defenceless* and unfortunate." It charges that party with "idolizing" the man, who, with some loud boast of democracy, "himself bought and sold hundreds of the poor as merchandise." The chief sin of Slavery it lays on the shoulders of the Democrats. Now, it strikes me that it is hardly yet time for the Tribune to indulge in any remarkable self-glorifications on account of the Whig party, and against the Democrats, on the score of being the friends of the colored race. It is just yet a trifle too early to make any very great distinction between the two parties on such a question. If the Whigs have any love for the colored people, it is like the Democrats love of democracy,—too abstract for use; indeed they are behind the Democrats, inasmuch as they—the Whigs—have never yet boasted that they love the negro, while the others have not been wanting in some brave words in their own behalf. If I do not forget myself, there are several Southern States yet in which Slavery exists, and several at the North where the free colored people are still deprived of some trifling privileges, such as the right of suffrage, the right to enter the State at all without fear of imprisonment, &c.; and I have yet to learn that the Whigs are all dead in those States, or that before they died there,—or anywhere else—they have ever signalized their existence, as a party, by a single act, which proves them as such the friend of the blacks. The Democrats are as bad as they well can be—on this subject—this side of the infernal regions, but the Whigs have yet to prove that they are entitled to any better reputation. Circumstances, and, we will hope, the growth of better principles have recently placed the Whig party where they are by position the Anti-Slavery party, but they have yet to prove their title to the name by their works. Pray, then, Oh! our neighbor of the Tribune, do not let your visions of what you say you mean to do, and what we hope you will, so obfuscate the clearness of your mind as to lead you to suppose your neighbors so much worse than yourselves; do let a decent modesty govern you, till you have earned some little title to boast, if no longer. Remember if the Democrats have an idol, who said great words while he did great wickedness, that there is also another, and a living man, also somewhat idolized, who said to one, who, like the Tribune, would ask men to do righteously, "Go home and mind your own business! My slaves are sleek and fat!"

The Cause in Maryland.

No further proceedings seem to have been held against Dr. Snodgrass. The last Visiter brings us the following advices from the Legislature:

Annapolis, Md. February 4, 1846.

There has been but little of general interest done in the Legislature during the present week. Among the proceedings had, the matter more interesting, probably, than any other to the numerous readers of your journal, was the consideration, on Monday last, of the bill, entitled, "A supplement to an Act relating to Free Negroes and Slaves, passed at December session, 1831."

The first section of this bill proposes to repeal so much of the act of 1831, ch. 323, as allows negroes to assemble for purposes of religious worship under the conduct and management of a "white, licensed or ordained preacher," &c. "and to declare all such assemblages unlawful and tumultuous." The second section provides that the holding of any such meeting shall be considered *prima facie* evidence of the consent of the owner of the land upon which such meeting shall be held, and subjects him to a penalty of $100, unless he can show by the testimony of at least two *freeholders*, that such meeting was without his knowledge and consent.

The third and last section declares all meetings of negroes for religious purposes, other than those held at regular and appointed houses of worship, to be unlawful and tumultuous, and subjects the owner of any house where any such meeting may be held, to the same fine as that above-mentioned. The bill was warmly supported by Messrs. Carroll, Clagett, Reeder, and Bowie, and opposed by Messrs. Cox, Biser, and Frazier.

The bill, after some debate, was recommitted to the Committee on the colored people, where, says the writer of the letter, "it is to be hoped we have heard the last of it."

The Independent Democrat is one of the best Anti-Slavery papers upon our exchange list. It is the organ of that portion of the Democratic party of New Hampshire, who, under the lead of John P. Hale, have refused longer to submit to Southern overseerism, and as a punishment for their independence and Democracy, have been read out of the Democratic party. One half of the last number contains the "Rights of the Free States Subverted," the excellent document by a member of Congress—no doubt Mr. Giddings—which has been in course of publication in the Standard for several weeks past.—Of it the Democrat says:

This document, which we publish entire on our first and fourth pages, deserves to be studied and pondered seriously and prayerfully by every patriot and Christian. It exhibits, in fearful relief, the strides of a power, which, unless its progress is soon checked, must put a period to the liberties of our country. We ask every man into whose hands this paper may come, to give the facts here presented such attention as the momentous question deserves. Every fact here stated stands indelibly engraved on our country's history; and not less indelibly in the records of Eternal Justice.

Movement in Alabama.—By the Tuscaloosa, (Ala.) Journal, we learn that a Special Committee of the House of Representatives of that State, have submitted a report accompanied by a bill prohibiting, under severe penalties, the introduction of slaves by non-residents or traders.—The Journal says: "The Committee complain that our slave population is becoming too numerous for the interest and security of the citizens of the State; and that non-resident planters send their slaves among us, and withdraw the proceeds of their labor to be expended in other States. They further express the fear that, as popular opinion is setting itself against the continuation of Slavery in Kentucky, Virginia, and other States, we may be overrun with this class of population."

The movement is important, as indicating a fear in the far South of the spread of Anti-Slavery principles in the Northern slave States, and a determination among the slaveholders in Alabama to guard against a similar result among themselves, arising from an over population of slaves.

The Gag Law in Kentucky.—The law proposed in the Kentucky Legislature, and which was designed to reach Mr. Clay's True American, has been deprived of its most objectionable feature, as we learn by the following letter from Frankfort, to the Louisville Journal:

"I have learned that in Committee of the Whole in the Senate they have struck out the objectionable section of the bill in relation to slaves; and that an amendment, offered by Mr. Helm, has been, or will be agreed to, to this effect: 'That if any person shall hereafter wilfully and maliciously excite, or shall wilfully and maliciously attempt to excite any slave within this Commonwealth to insurrection or rebellion against the laws of this State, or against the lawful authority of his owner, by the publication of any newspaper, handbill, circular, or by other means, he shall be liable to a certain fine,' &c. It appears to me that this amendment makes the bill altogether unobjectionable. It does not seem to trammel the liberty of the press, and it furnishes legal remedy for an offence, which would otherwise be without any other remedy but the illegal action of the people."

Seventh-Day Baptists.—A bill has been introduced into the New Jersey Legislature, to allow the Seventh Day Baptists to labor on the first day of the week. The bill is entitled "an Act granting Equal Privileges to the citizens of this State;" and is as follow:

Be it Enacted: Sec. 1. That every inhabitant of this State who religiously observes the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath, shall be allowed to enjoy all the rights, privileges, and liberty granted by the Constitution, as fully as are, or shall be secured by law to those observing the first day of the week, any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

☞ The Pittsburg "Mystery" is mistaken in supposing that Frederick Douglass has any intention of making Great Britain his future residence. He chooses rather to bear the suffering and contumely which, as a fugitive slave, and a colored man, he is obliged to submit to in this country, that he may do something for his race, than purchase ease and comfort for himself by flying from them.

Boston Daily Sun.—We learn that our friend George Kent, formerly of Concord, (N. H.) is to be the editor of the above-named paper. Mr. Kent has the ability to make the Sun an interesting paper, and loves freedom and truth too well not to exercise all the influence in his power in their behalf.

New-York Legislature.—Petitions have been presented to the Senate for the protection of the property of married women, and several for the abrogation of the death penalty. The proceedings offer nothing of general interest.

☞ There has been a rumor in town within the week that C. M. Clay and Marshall had fought a duel. It is without doubt a hoax.

☞ We call the attention of our readers—and especially those of the Unitarian denomination—to the speech of the Rev. Mr. Armstrong, made at an Anti-Slavery meeting in Bristol, England. The friend who was so kind as to send it me, says:—

"A Bristol correspondent informs me, 'The vote of thanks to your people, offered by Mr. Armstrong, was carried with acclamation. The scene would have done your heart good.'"

Re-Annexation.—The National Intelligencer of the 5th instant, says:—

"On Tuesday last, we learn from the Richmond papers, that both houses of the Virginia Legislature suspended their rules for the purpose of passing (and unanimously, too, in both houses) an act of retrocession, 'accepting by the State of Virginia the county of Alexandria, in the District of Columbia, when the same shall be receded by the Congress of the United States.'"

Missouri.—The people of this State have had a new Constitution pre-ented to them by their Representatives, in which we find the following clauses:

Qualifications of Voters—Every free *white* male citizen, who shall have resided in the State one year before an election, the last three months of which shall have been in the district where he is to vote, shall be a qualified elector.

Slavery—The General Assembly *shall have no power to abolish Slavery*, without the consent of the masters, or without indemnifying them, but may pass laws prohibiting the introduction of slaves.

☞ A correspondent of the Union says that President Jones will be the associate of Gen. Houston to the United States Senate.

Congress.—The discussion of various propositions relative to Oregon have been the only business of Congress the past week. The debate closed on Monday, and the House voted to authorize the President to *give Great Britain the notice* that the joint occupation of Oregon shall cease. The vote was 163 to 54.

Recent Publications.

The Life of Mozart. By Edward Holmes, author of a Ramble among the Musicians of Germany. Harper & Brothers.

This very delightful biography forms the fourth volume of Harpers' New Miscellany, and is one of the cheapest books that we have recently seen. Mr. Holmes regards the illustrious subject of his book as an unfortunate man, but the history of genius hardly furnishes an instance of one more fortunate. He was placed in the most favorable circumstances for the development of his natural powers; and they were so fully developed as to gain him bread while he lived, and immortality when he died. He died at the age of 36, but his artistic life began at the age of 6. He is one of the few instances of precocious genius ripening in manhood. One of the most delightful points in the life of Mozart is the relation which existed between himself and his father. Never were father and son more blessed in each other. Old Leopold Mozart would have been miserable if his son had been anything but a musician, and the son would have been the most miserable of men if he had been thwarted in his designs. The greatest happiness which a man of genius can know, is to be allowed the free exercise of his talents; and many a youth has destroyed himself in endeavoring to overcome his natural propensities that he might conform to the wishes of his parents. It is their mistaken duty which has filled the world with incompetent people. Here is a divine who should have been a sailor; there a captain whom nature meant for a tailor; yonder a man pleading in the courts who should have wielded a hammer, and another playing a fiddle who should have held a plow.—Fathers rarely look at the qualifications of their sons, but only consult their own ambition, when choosing a profession for them. Every man is fit for something, and that something he should be allowed to determine himself. Student Newton used to relate a very funny anecdote of one of his pupils, whose father had an ambition that he should be an artist. The lout sweated at his work for a week, when one day Newton found him in tears. "What is the matter?" said the artist.

"I wants to be a butcher," sobbed his pupil.

Here was a very clear case of misapplied talents, and the unhappy youth was sent to his natural business. But other boys have consumed their tears, and labored on to the end of their lives, good-for-nothings, in the hope of gratifying their parents. A fish out of water is a melancholy object, and withal a very useless one, except for a sacrifice. There can be no weariness of spirit so depressing as that which springs from an uncongenial employment. Life is worse than death when so held. The great source of wretchedness among moderns arises from the establishment of castes in society, which makes one method of earning a living more respectable than another. It is not easy to trace these castes to their source, but they are as positive as though they were established by law. A shaver of boards can never rank with a shaver of notes, a dealer in cabbages rests at an immense distance from an importer of cloths. The wife of a merchant, who imports ribbands and laces from Paris can never breathe the same atmosphere with the lady who makes these materials into bonnets. The highest caste in the scale of respectability is composed of those who have never done anything useful, and who live on the earnings of other people, while the lowest is composed of the most useful people in the community, by whose labors all the others exist. Animals and children have no conception of these distinctions; the milliner's baby clings to its mother's breast as fondly as though she were the lady of a wholesale jobber, and the beggar's dog follows his master as faithfully as though he lived on a pension. There is an amusing anecdote of Mozart's boyhood, illustrating this principle. When his father took him to play before the Emperor in Vienna, in passing across the palace, he stumbled and fell, when Maria Antoinette, afterwards Queen of France, ran to help him; to show his gratitude, the young musician took her hand and told her he would marry her. What troubles and anguish she would have been spared if she had married the poor composer instead of the King of France; but then, as the wife of Mozart, she would never have been eulogized by Burke; she might have been a happy wife, and have died in her bed, but the world would not have remembered her as the fairest vision that ever lighted upon the earth.

This Week's Paper.

Fourth Page.—*Poetry:* To C. M. Clay; Cead Mille Failte to the Stranger; Bones in the Desert; A Fable. *Miscellany:* John Ronge; Plain-Dealing.

First Page.—*Pro-Slavery:* Nrego Suffrage; A Runaway Slave in England; Negroes Abroad. *The Peculiar Institution:* True Stories. *Selections:* The Rights of the Free States Subverted, *(continued)*; War with England; Anti-Slavery Meeting at Bristol; Manufacture of Articles from Free Grown Cotton.

Second Page.—Black Laws of Ohio. *Communications:* Report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society; Letter from Henry Grew.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

General Items.

From the Albany Argus.

Universal Suffrage—The Iroquois Considered.

Albany, January, 29, 1846.

Mr. Croswell:—In re-constructing our Constitution, under circumstances favorable to the rights of all classes of a varied population, the occasion is presented for asking the question, *whether justice to the Iroquois of New-York, does not demand that they also should be admitted to the right of citizenship?* This people have some strong claims to such a distinction. They were not only the owners of the soil, at the era of the founding of the colony early in the 17th century, but they defended it manfully during the whole of that, and the greater part of the succeeding century, against the efforts of the crown of France to colonize and wrest it from our grasp. A portion of them fought with us in the contest for Independence. The Mohawks, who took adverse grounds, fled, and took shelter at its close in Canada. Such of the tribes, and parts of tribes as remain, have devoted themselves to agriculture, and continue, to the present time, to show themselves as peaceable and orderly inhabitants. As such they are regarded in the Western and Northern counties, where they are very well liked.

The recent census exhibits them in a favorable light. This is the view in which they are presented in the Governor's last Message to the Legislature. They cultivate wheat, oats, and corn. They raise cattle, horses, hogs, and sheep. They are, generally, good farmers and herdsmen. There are some mechanics and a few professional men. All the cantons have made respectable advances in morals and education. Their social organization exhibits schools, churches, and temperance societies. They have gone through the severe and scathing ordeal of the settlement of the State; and it is believed that such as remain upon these reservations, could now be incorporated into our system, as separate towns, left to their own organization, to the great benefit of themselves, and without detriment to us. To give them the right of suffrage and a representation in our Legislature, would act as a seal to all prior means to exalt them, and would accomplish more, in this respect, than a *house full of legislative acts* without it.

Yours, respectfully,
HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.

From Cuba.—The Herald has the following letter by the brig Joseph, arrived Tuesday, in 13 days from Matanzas:

Matanzas, Jan. 18, 1845.

We profit by this opportunity of the sailing from this port, of the American brig Joseph, to inform you about the critical state of the country at the present time.

The despotism and atrocious depredations of the Spanish Government, have arrived at the highest degree of iniquity. The enlistment for a militia, the suppression of a great number of advocates, the extinction of the University of this Island, the introduction of new and enormous taxes, have excited at last, the public indignation, and the opinion of the natives is almost pronounced.

The news about the proposed purchase of this Island by the Government of the United States, has reached us with incredible pleasure, and has been echoed with shouts of joy and enthusiasm in every quarter, and by every Creole heart.

An agent of the Government of the Union, with the help of our brethren, the Anglo-Americans, might be enough to attain the object of the purchase, without millions being necessary to it. The natives are disposed to the co-operation, by all means, on that purpose, and we are the organ of the opinion of the greatest number of them.

Woman.—The Philadelphia Ledger says an excellent thing—"Bad men have always the lowest opinion of woman. They mar God's work through their own base selfishness, and impiously pronounce it not good."

Clothes Drying Apparatus.—Some cunning Yankee down East has invented a new apparatus on which to hang out clothes to dry. On an upright post, which is made to turn, four long arms are fixed at right angles, and through there a cord is passed, at intervals of eighteen inches from the post to the extremity of the arms, much after the fashion of a spider's web. The careful housewife has nothing to do but to take her stand with her basket of wet clothes, and having filled up one of the angles, to turn the machine and repeat the process until the whole web is covered.—*Boston Traveller.*

The Woonsocket Patriot says:—A friend informs us that eleven clergymen, of different denominations, have within a few years removed from Connecticut to Southern States, and there become buyers and sellers of God's image.

The colored people of Boston have obtained a charter from England, and formed lately a lodge called the "Bay State Lodge of the United Order of Odd Fellows."

The Annual Meeting of the New England Fourier Society was held at Boston recently. The occasion is said to have been more than usually interesting.

The election of the Hon. Edward Everett to the Presidency of Harvard College has been confirmed.

Hon. Thomas F. Marshall, owing to pecuniary difficulties and political vexations, recently returned to his former intemperate habits, but has renewed his pledge, and is again active in the temperance cause.

The Pennsylvania Legislature has decided to do without a chaplain this session. The proposition to deduct his pay from the members' salaries soon fixed the matter.

The clergymen of all the denominations of Portsmouth, N. H. have addressed a letter to their fellow-ministers throughout the States, urging them to advocate peace principles, and to lay before the people the horrors of war, either in their congregations or in public meetings, called for the purpose.

Some precious confessions slip out in the Texas debate. Col. Young, the other day, while arguing that it was necessary to drive Slavery as far South as possible, expressed his doubt whether *any* climate North of "h—ll was hot enough for it." Senator Johnson, who spoke to-day, insists that it is better not to glorify Texas; that while he and others swallowed the pill, they did it reluctantly, and that no politician can now stand up and vindicate it as a mean for extending the area of Slavery without being d—d, not religiously, perhaps, but politically.—*Albany Evening Journal.*

The New Jersey Anti-Slavery Society, at its last meeting, in Trenton, resolved to prosecute the appeal from the Supreme Court of that State, as to the constitutionality of Slavery in New Jersey.

A duel was fought at Washington last week, between T. F. Jones and Dr. Johnson, of Elizabeth city, N. C. which was fatal to the latter. Jones accused Johnson of dishonorable intercourse with his wife, which he denied to the last, and refused to fire upon his adversary, who killed him on the spot.

An inmate of the Auburn State Prison was recently whipped so brutally by one of the keepers as to cause his death.

Martha Gray, widow of Captain Robert Gray, the discoverer of the Columbia river, has sent a memorial to Congress, asking for pecuniary assistance for herself and daughters, on the ground of the vast benefit which this country will receive from the possession of a territory to the discovery of which, it is mainly indebted to her husband.

Many rumors are afloat in relation to the object of the charter of a swift-sailing pilot-boat, the W. J. Romers, which left this port on Monday, for Liverpool, to return immediately.

Straining at a Gnat.—Certain Democratic journals which "swallowed the camel" of Texas, with her huge hump of Slavery, without winking, and which are always eager to promote any swindle for the benefit of the "Democratic" slave power of this country, affect to be amazingly indignant and even horror-struck in view of the emigrant system by which England is endeavoring to answer the demand for laborers in her West India colonies. They can see no difference, simple souls! between a forcible seizure of men on the coast of Africa, and the carrying them off into Slavery through all the horrors of the "middle passage," and the sailing of a company of emigrants with their own consent, and under a contract to labor for wages! The emigrant system of England is doubtless very objectionable and liable to great abuses; it was adopted in spite of the strenuous opposition of those actively engaged in bringing about the abolition of Slavery in the West Indies, and they are now watching the whole affair with extreme jealousy; but the representation that the emigrants are treated as slaves is a silly calumny which can cheat nobody except the rabble whose patriotism never exhibits itself but in most intense swagger about everything British.—*Tribune.*

In December last a wealthy Spanish gentleman named Hernandez, residing on Staten Island, eloped from his home with a Jesuit priest and a beautiful woman, taking his children with him. He drew from his bankers all the money in their hands, $74 000. The brother-in-law and sister of the wife followed them to New Orleans, where they succeeded in regaining the children by stratagem. The priest was arrested on charge of larceny.—The husband is in prison in New Orleans awaiting his trial. The wife has commenced a suit for a divorce. The happiness of this family is said to have been undisturbed until the intrigues of this priest, Medrano, commenced. He took the young woman into his family for the purpose of introducing her to Hernandez, and thus to alienate his affections from his wife, to gain an influence over him and his affairs, and in the end to get possession of his fortune.

Died.

In Jericho, L. I. the 31st of 1st month, of typhus fever, Phebe P. wife of Henry Willis, aged 55. She was a worthy member of the Society of Friends, of a meek and quiet spirit, yet full of active sympathy for her race. A devoted wife, an affectionate mother, a kind neighbor, and a faithful friend. Her's was the life as well as the death of the righteous.

She has gone from us, but the light of her example remains forever.—[Communicated.

NOTICES.

A GREAT

MASS EEETING

WILL BE HELD IN THE

Union Hall, 101 Anthony Street, on

Wednesday evening, 11th instant, at half-past 7 o'clock.

All who feel interested on the question of the Suffrage, are invited to attend.

Fellow-citizens, you owe it to yourselves and to posterity to aid in carrying our claims before the constitutional body that will assemble in June, to amend the Constitution of this State, and let it not be said by our enemies again, as they have said, that we did not evince sufficient interest on this important question.

Highly interesting intelligence has been received by the Committee, and will be laid before the meeting. Also, a report of the proceedings of the Liberty Party Convention, that was held in the Western part of the State.

Signed by order of the Chairman,
L. H. PUTNAM, Sec'y County Committee.
New-York, Feb. 7 1846.

CAYUGA COUNTY, AWAKE!

Wm. W. Brown will lecture in Cayuga county, as follows:

At	Northville,	February	12th,
"	Genoa, 5 corners,	"	13th,
"	Northville,	"	15th,
"	Smith's corners,	"	16th,
"	Sherwood's corners,	"	17th,
"	Ledyard, 4 corners,	"	18th,
"	Senate,	"	21st,
"	Cato, 4 corners,	"	23d.

The above meetings will all be holden in the evening. The friends of the slave in the above places, will please see to it that notice is given, and a place obtained to meet in. I will be there at the appointed time.

Wm. W. Brown.

NEW LEBANON SPRINGS WATER-CURE ESTABLISHMENT.

In this place, so long celebrated for the beauty of its scenery, purity of the air, and utility of the water, is now instituted a Water-Cure Infirmary; which, from the above considerations, promises to be of the greatest importance to the afflicted, and to persons wishing to spend a season in the country for the purpose of recruiting the energies of the system, after a time of illness or hard labor. The beauty of the scenery and salubrity of the air, is not often excelled in any country. The water is abundant and of all temperatures, from ice cold to 72 degrees Fahrenheit Ther. The mountain springs have been tested by the celebrated chemists, Dr. Chilton, of New York, and Professor Avery, of Hamilton College, and pronounced perfectly pure and soft. The various baths, as Plunge, Shower, Douche, Hose, Fountain, Eye & Ear, Cold or Warm, are so constructed, as to be comfortable, inviting, and easy of access by invalids at all times. The rooms are so warmed as to render them perfectly comfortable even in the coldest weather. Persons afflicted with either acute or chronic diseases, have much to induce them to visit this establishment. The water treatment has been particularly successful in the following complaints: Rheumatism, either acute or chronic, Gout, incipient stages of Consumption, Dispepsia or Indigestion, with its train of symptoms, as Headache, Constipation, Liver Complaint, Jaundice, &c. It removes nervous affections, and the various forms of Fever, as Typhus, Billious, and Intermitting. It acts like a charm in all eruptive diseases, as Small-pox, Measles, Scarlet Fever, &c. All scrofulous complaints, and diseases arising from impurities of the blood, tumors, ulcers, fever sores, and boils, are more successfully treated by water than by any system of medicine.

The diet and regimen of patients are strictly attended to, which alone, in most cases of chronic disease, is far better for the patient than any system of drug medication. Suitable medical examination and advice constantly in attendance at the establishment, who will give strict attention to the patients, and point out all necessary changes to facilitate the cure.

Those who feel competent to treat their own cases at home, and want an examination and prescription, can have it at a reasonable expense.

The inhabitants of this vicinity are particularly notified that they can have medical advice and attention at their own houses, in all acute or chronic diseases, where it is not practical to come to the establishment.

One important item to the afflicted is, that the water-cure patients are never left to groan out a miserable life from the ill effects of mineral or vegetable poisons.

The expense, per week, is from $5 to $8, including board, medical advice, and attendance.

N. B. The patients are expected to bring two linen or cotton sheets, three woollen blankets, two comfortables, and towels. DAVID CAMBELL, *Principal.*

N. Bedortha, M. D. Resident Physician.
Dr. S. Graham, Counselling Physician.

P. S. Located 25 miles east of Albany, 7 miles west of Pittsfield, Mass. and within an hour's ride of the Boston and Albany, the Hudson, and also the Housatonic railroads.

February 15, 1846.

NEW-YORK WHOLESALE PRICES CURRENT.

CORRECTED WEEKLY FOR THE STANDARD.

ASHES.		**IRON.**	
Pot, first sort 1845.	3.87½ a 4 00	Pig, Eng. & Sc. ton	38.00 a 40.00
Pearl	4.12½ a 4.25	do. American	36.00 a 37.00
CANDLES.		Bar do. rolled	87.50 a 90.00
Mould, tallow lb.	9 a 11	do. Russia P, S, I,	100.00 a 102.50
Sperm	37 a 39	do. do. N. Sable	90.00 a 97.50
Stearic do.	22 a 25	do. Swedes	87.50 a 90.00
COAL.		do. Eng. com.	77.50 a 80.00
Liverpool, chaldron,	7.25 a 7.50	do. do. refined	87.50 a 90.00
Newcastle	7.00 a 7.25	Sheet E. & Am. lb.	7 a 7½
Scotch	6.00 a 6.50	Hoop do. do. cwt.	5.50 a 6.00
Sidney and Pictou	5.50 a 5.75	**LEAD.**	
Anthracite, 2,000lbs.	5.00 a 6 00	Pig, 100 lbs.	4.87½

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

TO C. M. CLAY.

Emblazoned on the page of fame,
Foremost shall stand thy honor'd name,
Kentucky's noble son.
The just and good behold from far,
With hope and joy thy radiant star;
And pray that no mishap may mar
Thy course so well begun.
Oh, may that star with lustre bright
Beam through dark error's misty night,
Its bright and piercing ray,
Until opposing throngs shall learn
Their own true interest to discern,
And from their dangerous folly turn
Full converts to thy way.
Still may thy thrilling tones be heard,
Till every freeman's heart be stirred,
In "Cabin," and rich dome;
Then may thy cherished household stand,
Sharing thy joys a happy band,
Safe in their prosperous native land,
And loved paternal home.
Then those who now for freedom pine,
Shall in a joyful anthem join,
In gratitude to thee,
Who anxious for thy country's good,
Hast firmly in the battle stood,
To gain, as Christian warrior should,
A bloodless victory.
Now let the whole wide West ring out,
As with one voice the cheering shout,
And double honor pay,
Unto the Statesman true and great,
Whose deeds convince his native State,
That "truth shall triumph soon or late."
Hurrah for C. M. Clay.

CEAD MILLE FAILTE TO THE STRANGER.

Air.—"Old Dan Tucker."

Written and Sung at Cork on occasion of the entertainment to Frederick Douglass at St. Patrick's Hall.

CHORUS.

"Cead Mille Failte" to the Stranger,
Free from bondage, chains, and danger—
"Cead Mille Failte" to the Stranger,
Free from bondage, chains, and danger.

1. Stranger, from a distant nation,
We welcome thee with acclamation,
And, as a brother, warmly greet thee,
Rejoiced in Erin's Isle to meet thee.

2. Who could have heard thy hapless story
Of Tyrants canting, base, and gory,
Whose heart throbbed not with deep pulsation
For the trampled slave's emancipation?

3. Oh! why should different hue or feature
Prevent the sacred laws of nature,
And every tie of feeling sever?—
The voice of Nature thunders—"Never!"

4. And borne o'er the Atlantic waters
The cry of Erin's sons and daughters
For Freedom, shall henceforth be blended
Till Slavery's hellish reign be ended.
Then "Cead Mille Failte" to the Stranger, etc.

CORK, 17 Dominick street.

BONES IN THE DESERT.

BY ANNE C. LYNCH.

Where pilgrims seek the Prophet's tomb
Across the Arabian waste,
Upon the ever shifting sands,
A fearful path is traced.

Far up to the horizon's verge,
The traveller sees it rise,
A line of ghastly bones that bleach
Beneath those burning skies.

Across it, tempest and simoom
The desert sands have strewed,
But still that line of spectral white
Forever is renewed.

For while along that burning track
The caravans move on,
Still do the wayworn pilgrims fall,
Ere yet the shrine be won.

Then the tired camel lays him down
And shuts his gentle eyes,
And then the fiery rider droops,
Toward Mecca looks and dies.

They fall unheeded from the ranks:—
On sweeps the endless train,
But there to mark the desert path
Their whitening bones remain.

As thus I read the mournful tale
Upon the traveller's page,
I thought how like the march of life
Is this sad pilgrimage.

For every heart hath some fair dream,
Some object unattained,
And far-off in the distance lies
Some Mecca to be gained.

But beauty, manhood, love, and power
Go in their morning down,
And longing eyes and outstretched arms
Tell of the goal unwon.

The mighty caravan of life
Above their dust may sweep,
Nor shout, nor trampling feet shall break
The rest of those who sleep.

Oh! fountains that I have not reached,
That gush far off e'en now,
When shall I quench my spirit's thirst
Where your sweet waters flow?

Oh Mecca of my life-long dreams,
Cloud palaces that rise
In that far distance pierced by hope,
When will ye greet mine eyes?

The shadows lengthen toward the East
From the declining sun,
And the pilgrim, as ye still recede,
Sighs for the journey done.

From the Diadem.

A FABLE.

BY R. W. EMERSON.

The mountain and the squirrel
Had a quarrel,
And the former called the latter "little Prig,"
Bun replied,
You are doubtless very big,
But all sorts of things and weather
Must be taken in together
To make up a year
And a sphere.
And I think it no disgrace
To occupy my place.
If I'm not so large as you,
You are not so small as I,
And not half so spry;
I'll not deny you make
A very pretty squirrel track;
Talents differ; all is well and wisely put;
If I cannot carry forests on my back,
Neither can you crack a nut.

Miscellany.

Our readers, we doubt not, will be glad to read the following article, which we copy in its condensed form from Littell's Living Age. It is the fullest, clearest, and best history we have met with of the great religious reform now in progress in Germany:

From the Westminster Review.

JOHN RONGE.

[Part of an article on German Theology.]

Germany is now on a very large scale showing, in the person and achievements of the justly celebrated John Ronge, that the country which gave birth to the Lutheran Reformation has taken effectual means for the origination and furtherance of a similar movement. It is a remarkable fact, that the relations of the Catholic and the Protestant churches have remained till the present day, the same externally as they were left by Luther, no nation, no large portion of any nation, has since then gone over to either the one side or the other. Yet the most strenuous efforts have been made by Catholics to recover, and by Protestants to extend, the spiritual influence "lost and won" under the auspices of that great reformer. The utmost has been done which the most decided and zealous dogmatism could effect. In vain; the Protestant Reformation seemed to have exhausted its energies in one great effort. In this country zealous Protestants did not indeed fail to hope; but they were reduced to hoping against hope, and no few signs appeared which gave evidence that the Catholicism of Rome was positively, if not largely increasing. Such a result surprised even those whose religion is tempered by philosophy, though they had clearly seen that the "No-Popery" cry, and other inculpatory and unworthy means taken against Catholicism, was likely to retard rather than advance the spread of the Protestant church. And whatever its tendency in this behalf, the false alarms, the anti-social and illiberal invectives, the vituperations of narrowness and bigotry, could not fail to be condemned by all men of enlarged minds, on many grounds as well as on this, that the Roman church still remained the church of the large majority of Christian professors, and may as such, as well as in consideration of its antiquity, claim to be treated with consideration, if not respect. In this Protestant country the fact now stated seems to be frequently forgotten. Protestants being here a large majority, act sometimes with the insolence and the tyranny to which majorities appear to be much prone. If numbers are useful in political economy, they may probably teach liberality in religion. Well, then, in 1840 there were in Europe of Roman Catholics 126,147,819; of Protestants, 56,004,406. Why, even the Greek church has a community larger than Protestantism by two millions of souls. In view of these large numbers how petty appears the bigotry of the smaller sects of this land—among the most intemperate in zeal against Catholicism.

That this unchristian ardor, which is often little else than ill-temper and bad passion under the cloak of religion, should have failed to make encroachments on the strongly-fortified camp of the Romanists might have been predicted. Yet the tendency of the culture and spirit of the age seemed to bear in an opposite direction to the currents of papal influence. Why, then, did not that culture bring about open manifestations of its power? The chief reason was that the culture had no religious channel, could find no religious expression. At least in this country the spirit of the age stood aloof from religious strivings and contests, as a prudent man keeps at a distance from a brawl. In Germany, however, this severance, this jealousy did not exist. Religion welcomed the influence of the spirit of secular culture. She received it into alliance with herself; she went hand in hand with that culture. She declared that she had no interests that were not common with the interests of the highest civilization and the fullest and largest liberty. She showed in act that she did not fear the light, but loved it. She proved her sincerity by sacrifices. In a word, she made common cause with literature, philosophy, science, progress. One result was that she threw off old forms and outward badges, and became more spiritual, pure, lofty, and benign. Another result is now being educed in the extraordinary deeds of Ronge; what dogmatism failed to achieve is now being well and rapidly done by a religious expression of the spirit of the age. Catholicism was impenetrable to abuse; it crumbles away under the dissolving breath of knowledge and Christian love.

For a long time those who watched events in the religious world, wondered that no reformatory movement took place within the bosom of the Romish church. The German Protestant clergy had by their industry, research, learning, and free speech, produced, among at least the more enlightened members of their church, a complete revolution in matters of religion, causing its old outward forms to be thrown off and a new spirit of power and love to be evolved from its essence. It was also well known from their writings, that Catholic theologians had partaken in the general improvement. How, then, was it in the Catholic community there was no outward and popular manifestation of these great changes? The new German Catholic Church solves the difficulty. It is the offspring of methods of inquiry and modes of thought which have been in operation in Germany for more than half a century.

Ronge is the child of religious reform. "The hour" has produced "the man," and "the man" will accelerate the tendencies of "the hour." This church is a new triumph of the Lutheran Reformation. Catholicism is still under the spell of Luther's words, and is now beginning in truth to reform itself. Who can say that it will not give important lessons to Protestantism in return for what it has learnt, teaching those who still cling to salvation by opinion, to throw off the shackles of the schools and to own no master but Christ?

On the 18th of August in the last year, the entire country which lies on the southwestern border of Germany, towards France, was seen in active and lively movement; every highroad, covered, from the break of day, with joyously-looking multitudes of various ranks, but mostly of the lower classes, attired each in his best. The hum of many voices strikes the ear; numerous and gaudy colors flaunt on the eye; bright faces full of a certain holy expectation; priests in their clerical vestments, with flowers, garlands, and bands of music, stream along in procession down the hills, and through the vale which forms a bed for the lovely Moselle; combining to produce an impression of the beautiful which can be realized nowhere but in Catholic countries of the continent, and on the occasion like that to which we are referring.

The gathering crowds pass on, displaying every minute more and more hilarity, as if approaching some eagerly-desired goal; new groups break into view now here, now there; at one time emerging from this wood, at another from that defile; and forming, under the leadership, each group of its own clergy, wend their way, in the greatest order as well as the greatest excitement, to the gates of the old and venerable city of Trèves, (German, Trièr; Lat. Augusta Treviorum,) honored by affording a residence even to Roman emperors, and still more by religious relics, traditions, and antiquities, which stretch back to the primeval ages of Christianity; a city the oldest bishopric of Germany, and once the capital of a principality. As they enter, the bells of many churches salute them with a jubilee, and the entire population rises up to give the visitors a cordial greeting. Thus received, the assembled multitudes proceed to the cathedral, through which they are slowly marshalled, and then conducted to one of the neighboring churches, where they take refreshment and rest, are admitted to the confession of their sins, and assured of full and unqualified forgiveness, ere they return to their home or pay a visit to relations and friends.

The impulse which has called these thousands forth from all parts of one bishopric, is speedily spread beyond its limits, causing similar crowds to direct their steps to the same spot from over distant districts of Germany and France. The scene lasts for several weeks—one continuous train of pilgrims, one constant waste of time, energy, resources. What is the object which has called forth this enthusiasm? Is it some noble aim of benevolence? The presence of so many ministers of religion, the observance of so many religious ceremonies, would seem to indicate a benign or a pious intention. The sad truth is, it is only *to look at an old coat*. And yet we are in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, and Trèves is in the centre of European civilization!

That which immediately gave occasion to this vast popular movement was a circular letter addressed by Arnoldi, Bishop of Trèves, to the clergy of his diocese, directing them to invite the flocks of their several parishes to repair to the cathedral of that city, "in order to behold and honor the priceless jewel therein preserved, namely the coat without seam (John xix. 23) of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ!" And as if to remind men of the necessity of a second reformation, the Bishop makes mention of a bull of Leo X., by which, in 1514, a pilgrimage, accompanied by suitable presents to the high church at Trèves, was to be rewarded, in the case of each individual, by the entire remission of sins. The rather does the Bishop now call together the faithful around this relic, because a period of thirty-four years has elapsed since they were permitted to feast their eyes with a sight of the holy object, and the priests had an opportunity of regaling themselves on the very abundant proceeds of the exhibition. Accordingly, the holy coat is shown on the appointed day, after the glad announcement of its arrival had been made on the previous noon and evening by all the church bells of the city. At eight o'clock in the morning Bishop Arnoldi is beheld, performing mass at the high altar. Canon Dr. Braun pronounces from the pulpit a discourse on the genuineness and wonderful virtues of the sacred vestment. Then comes the happy, the long-expected moment. The robe is elevated and suspended over the high altar, intervening objects having been removed; and at one o'clock the processions begin to pass through the cathedral, every eye directed eastward, and every heart beating with pleasing solicitude. Order is preserved partly by the clergy, partly by the police. We scarcely need add, that due care is taken to prevent the worshippers from omitting to leave their free-will offering behind.

The last day of the appointed pilgrim-period was distinguished by special ceremonies. There hung the sacred robe to be saluted, for the last time, till after a long interval, by one of the highest dignitaries of the Church—a Bishop, professor, apostolic vicar, Dr. Laurent, followed by a very numerous band of clergy, proceeds to pay his devoirs to the old coat, at the head of a long, partly imposing, partly glittering procession, made up of priests, people, young girls, dressed in white, and crowned with wreaths of flowers, with flags, with musical choirs, with bands, and the cathedral bells "chiming merrily." The dignified visiter is ceremoniously received by his brother Bishop of Trèves, and conducted into the presence of the said old coat.

During the happy moment or two that each individual is able to fix his distant gaze on the suspended garment, prayers break from the lips, which being addressed in part to Jesus Christ, in part to the coat itself, combine a strange mixture of good and pious feeling with superstitious idolatry. Lo! from the lips of professed Christians the supplication is heard, "Holy coat, help us!" The more ardent, wishing for a permanent good, put up the entreaty, "Sacred Christ, envelop our souls!"—While those whose bodily ailments scarcely allow them to limp onward with the throng, beseech the senseless rag in these terms: "Blessed robe of our Lord, relieve us from these afflictions!"

Such was the enthusiasm kindled, that hundreds affected with disease went away convinced that they were healed in body as well as relieved in soul. The power of miracle as well as the odor of sanctity was diffused throughout the scene; and if any whose temperament was too phlegmatic to take the prevalent contagion, found their disorders unremedied, the blind still without sight, the deaf unimpressible by sound, the palsied incapable of voluntary motion—these persons ascribed their infelicity not to any want of efficacy in the relic, but to their own great sinfulness, their failure in some required form, the disfavor of their confessor, the heterodoxy of some associate. How many, during the license which subsequently prevailed, lost character and peace of mind, together with their little substance, is known to Him only who reads the heart; but it may be assumed that the majority took back with them nothing but a vague and delusive feeling of having performed a great religious duty, not of a nature to sustain them under the bitter and almost unparalleled privations and sufferings which the extreme severity of the last winter inflicted on persons whose resource had been wholly expended, and whose credit had been taxed to the utmost. Terrible was their endurance, especially when, at the approach of spring, the Rhine being suddenly swollen by melting snow and ice, laid the entire country along its banks under water. Could anything have opened the leaden eyes of this infatuated peasantry, the varied long, and heavy woes which they had to endure immediately after the pilgrimage, would have sufficed to teach them, that in no sense were either themselves or their devotions objects of special regard in the sight of the Governor of the world.

But the scene we have described is witnessed by a young priest, who at last becomes too indignant to hold his peace. His name is Ronge.

John Ronge was born on the 16th of October, 1813, at Bishopswalde, in the district of Neisse, a principality of which the greater portion belongs to Prussia, the smaller to Austria, subject to the Bishop of Breslau, who, up to the year 1820, was master of the whole. Ronge's father possessed a small landed estate, but he had eight children, who, in consequence of their parents' narrow means, were obliged to labor for their subsistence. John, until his twelfth year, was employed in keeping sheep.—His condition afforded little opportunity for instruction, except in the long nights of winter, when out-of-door occupations were impossible. Yet the mental cultivation of the boy was not at a complete standstill. A shepherd's life is especially fitted to foster the tendencies of a poetical temperament, and though instruction was sparing enough, yet it afforded the first materials for thought, which might be, and were, successfully improved in the solitudes of the field.—Ronge had received some training at the hands of the Church, and employed himself while tending his flock with reading the Bible, and in religious meditations. In his subsequent education he distinguished himself by successful diligence, having formed a desire to employ his energies in the Christian priesthood. Catholicism had the advantage that it furnished means which the poverty of the family denied. Accordingly, though Ronge was poor, he was enabled to proceed, in 1827, to the grammar-school of Neisse, and in 1837 to the high school, or college, of Breslau. His demeanor in both institutions was blameless. As a scholar no less than as a student, he led a quiet and simple life, little noticed by his companions, but occupied with the study of history, and, at a later period, of theology. These pursuits increased his preference of a sacred calling. In political matters he took the celebrated historian Rotteck for his guide, who awakened in Ronge a strong love of that free-thinking by which his own writings are characterized. Entire tranquillity of mind did not fall to his lot. From time to time doubts arose within him whether he should be able to fulfil the demands which the predominant party made on every new spiritual teacher; but he suppressed these solicitudes, and ascribed them to suggestions made to him by well-meaning, but, as he then considered them, unwise friends. The earnest desire of his parents to see him enter on the clerical duties, kept him on the road that led to the Church. He was also confirmed in his intention by a wish to relieve them of care for his education.

Towards the end of the year 1839, he entered the Ecclesiastical Academy at Breslau. In this institution, which was to win his heart and prepare his mind for the Church, he was led to renounce the Church, as it existed under the guidance of Rome.—He had expected that worthy teachers would labor to develop the internal excellences of gifted young men, but found, instead, men who made it their aim to destroy in their pupils every germ of independence, and to set forth obedience to Rome and its representatives as their first great duty: on the other hand he found scholars who had defiled their natural feelings of honor by hypocrisy, and sought to gain the good will of their principal by every means, tale-bearing and calumny not excepted. His mind revolted against the requirements of the ritual observances that were practised in the college; against the lengthy prayers, full of repetitions which could be no other than mechanical, and which robbed useful studies of time and energy. Yet he persevered. The office of a Catholic priest has great attractions, especially for the child of poor parents. It raises him who is devoted to it, humble as his lot by birth may be, to stand in the high position between God and man, of one who is the channel through which the former transmits his highest and choicest favors to the latter. To this position Ronge looked as a full reward for his patient endurance. He was also encouraged by the thought that liberty would come at the time when he entered on the duties of his sacred profession.

Towards the year 1840 he left the academy, and accepted the office of curate at Grottkau. He was soon undeceived. The tactics of the Jesuits, in order to bring the church of Silesia under their own power, had engendered a brood of zealots who scented apostacy in every free word of a priest, and lay in offensive watch around the pulpit, whence they thought such words were likely to fall. Ronge, who could have no sympathy with the Jesuits, and who had formed to himself an idea of the Church after a primitive model, according to which she was the true mother of the faithful, and a promoter of the culture of the clergy, found himself alienated from the pulpit by the proceedings of these ecclesiastical spies. His refuge was the school, into which informers could not come, and where no one could forbid him to sow in the hearts of the young the seeds of what is good and beautiful. In his leisure hours he composed what he termed "Catholic Songs"—which gave expression to the grief of his oppressed soul against the tyranny of Rome.

Ere long he was brought into open hostility with the Jesuit party. In the cathedral church at Breslau there presided, as administrator-general, a Dr. Ritter, who was on many sides accused of arbitrary conduct, favoritism, and hostility to men of independent minds. The bishopric had been vacant a year when the chapter, at last, near the termination of 1841, united in the choice of a successor in Dr. Knauer. This election was hailed on every hand, for Knauer had won universal esteem by his mildness and liberality. The more unwelcome was the extraordinary delay of Rome in giving its sanction to the choice. The end of the year 1842 came, and the bishopric was still unfilled. Under these circumstances the conclusion was natural that artifice was at work in the chapter. Suspicions fell on Ritter, whose power would end with the installation of the new bishop. Ronge, who expected a milder sway under the bishop elect, gave expression to his sentiments in a brief essay, entitled, "Rome and the Cathedral Church of Breslau," which he sent to some of the public papers. The signature which it bore was simply "A Curate." But Ronge was suspected of being the author, and Dr. Ritter came forward to take steps against him. Ronge was required, on his word of honor as a priest, to say whether he had sent this publication or had had any part in it. He did not choose to give his adversaries the means of proceeding against him in this summary manner. His answer was, that his conscience did not permit him to answer the question in the way proposed.

There now followed a yet more summary and arbitrary step. Without a hearing, without further inquiry, without the slightest evidence, Dr. Ritter, supported by the chapter, declared Ronge deprived of his office, and directed him to repair to the seminary in Breslau, there to undergo such punishment as might justify his being forgiven.

Fanaticism did not rest after it had obtained its first object. Not satisfied with pursuing Ronge himself, his enemies assailed his sister in so bitter a manner that she most earnestly prayed her brother to submit, in order that she might be free from the calumnies that were vented against her. Apparent friends begged and urged him to make his peace with the Church, by what would have been a dishonorable recantation. It soon became usual to warn persons who repaired to confession, to be on their guard against him as a heretic. He was charged not only with ecclesiastical disobedience, but immorality; and as no better proofs could be given of the latter imputation, his accusers made the most that they could of these—his hair was too long, his coat too short, his countenance was not sufficiently serious.

Unsubdued by these discreditable proceedings, the accused man demanded an inquiry and a sentence. Meanwhile Bishop Knauer had entered into his office. To him Ronge turned. He named himself as the author of the obnoxious essay, explained his motives, and asked for restoration to his duties. The Bishop promised that restoration, but his influence was only subordinate; and on a second application from Ronge he took the opposite side. The extreme party found in this step of their opponent a fresh inducement to further hostilities. The temporary deprivation from his cure was changed into a permanent deposition, and all the clergy of Silesia were forbidden to receive him as a clergyman. Thereupon a new storm broke forth, for the Romanists considered themselves justified in everything, and even insulted Ronge whenever he entered a church. He was compelled to give up his situation at Grottkau. Provided with the most honorable testimonials from the municipality, as well as from many of the inhabitants, he left the town, and sought a temporary abode on the property of Count Reichenbach, who had offered him an asylum. Thence he proceeded to Laurahütte, in Upper Silesia, near the Russian boundaries, and there engaged in the duties of education. His hours of leisure he employed in preparing writings directed against Rome, some of which have since been published. Here, as in Grottkau, he showed a deep regard and an enthusiastic love for children. But a new and most honorable vocation was now to be given him. The exposure of the holy coat at Trièr, as an object of veneration to the stolid peasantry of the Rhine, broke down in Ronge's mind the thin barrier of patient endurance that remained, and compelled him to assume the honorable but perilous position of a religious reformer.

There was nothing in Ronge's character of an unworthy nature to urge him to this enterprise. He possesses none of the qualities of a demagogue. He is the very opposite of fanatical. His entire being is that of a child. In person he is of a pleasing mien; simple, plain, and unpretending in his manners. He is of a medium stature, neither corpulent nor thin; his body is somewhat bent, which he tries to raise by throwing back his head, whence the upper part of his frame is something stiff and constrained. He has a fresh, open, and free countenance, which, shaded by a tinge of melancholy—the token of long and severe inner struggle—is, on the other hand, lighted up by a clear bright eye. By nature he is shy and timid; only in a small circle of friends does he become warm, and then his conversation is lively, flowing, and captivating: in large and mixed societies he is reserved and silent. As a preacher he is simple, clear, severely logical, and easy to be understood, working on the intellect rather than on the feelings; less warming than convincing his auditors. Fanatics call his sermons jejune. Careful preparation is essential to his speaking with effect, which is the more noticeable because in conversation he is able to handle a given subject with acuteness and versatility. In private life Ronge is a good, estimable, modest man, with warm affections and a true heart. If any soul is pure and chaste in the fullest sense of the word, it is his. He is benificent even to imprudence. With an income of forty-eight dollars a-year he always had resources with which to aid the poor and needy. Convivial enjoyments he regards with indifference; yet does he require for his happiness the comforts of the family circle, and is fond of children almost to weakness.

Such is the man who now girded on a spiritual sword and rushed forward to assail superstition.—His first blow was given in the following letter, which we quote as illustrative of his style of weapon, and as bringing the demerits of the Trèves clergy into full relief:

"LAURAHUTTE, October the 1st.

"What for a long time sounded in our ears as a tale or fable, namely, that Bishop Arnoldi, of Trèves, had displayed a piece of clothing, termed the coat of Christ, in order that it might be religiously beheld and honored, you, Christians of the nineteenth century—you, German men—you, teachers and ministers of the German people—you know that it is not a tale nor a fable, but a fact. For already it appears, from the latest intelligence, that above 500,000 persons have gone as pilgrims to see that relic, and that daily other thousands pour along in the same direction, especially since the said garment has healed the sick and worked miracles. Nevertheless, information hurries through the land, and even clerical men have in France declared that THEY have the true coat of Christ, and that the coat at Trèves is not genuine. Truly, we may here apply the words 'He who loses his senses on certain points, has none to lose.' Five hundred thousand men, five hundred thousand intelligent Germans, have hastened to Trèves to see and honor a coat!—Most of these thousands are of the humbler classes, in great poverty, oppressed, ignorant, dull of understanding, superstitious, and in part degenerate; and now they bid adieu to the tillage of their fields, withdraw themselves from their handicrafts, from household cares, the education of their children, in order to travel to Trèves, to an idolatrous festival, to an unworthy spectacle, got up under the hands of the Roman hierarchy. Yes, it is an idolatrous festival, for many thousands, men of easy faith, have been misled to pay to a piece of clothing, the work of men's hands, the honor and respect which are due to God only. And what disastrous consequences do these pilgrims bring! Thousands of the pilgrims rob themselves of money for the journey and for the offerings which they make to the holy coat, or rather to the priests; they scramble their little together as they can, or they borrow of their neighbors, to go hungry or thirsty on a pilgrimage which may impair, if not destroy, their health. If these outward evils are great, very great, the moral evils are yet far greater. Will not many, reduced to want by the cost of their pilgrimage, seek to repair their losses by unjust means? many women, many maidens lose the purity of their hearts, their modesty, their good name, and so destroy the peace, the happiness, the welfare of their families? Finally, a door will by this most unchristian scene be set wide open for superstition, for fanaticism, and what is therewith connected, for vice. These evils ensue from the holy coat's being thus displayed and religiously blessed, whether it be genuine or not. And the man who has done all this, who has cheated the poor hungry people of their money and their bread, has exposed the German people to the scorn of other nations—this man is a Bishop, a German Bishop, is Bishop Arnoldi of Trèves. Bishop Arnoldi of Trèves, I turn, therefore, to you, and in virtue of my office and calling as a priest, as a teacher of the German people, and in the name of Christianity, in the name of the German nation, in the name of the instructors of the people, I demand that you cause the unchristian spectacle of the holy coat to cease, and withdraw from the public gaze the aforesaid piece of clothing, so as not to make the offence greater than it is to religious minds. For you know—as Bishop you must know—that the Founder of the Christian religion left to his disciples not his coat, but his spirit. You know—as Bishop you must know—that Christ has taught, 'God is spirit, and he who worships him must worship him in spirit and in truth.' And thus he can be worshipped everywhere, not merely in Jerusalem, nor on Mount Gerizim, nor at Trèves, before the holy coat. Do you not know—as Bishop you must know—that the Gospel expressly forbids the honoring of any visible image, any relic,—that the Christians of the apostolic times and of the first three centuries did not endure either an image or a relic (when they might have had so many) in their churches—that the honoring of images and relics is a heathenish custom, and that the fathers of the first three centuries deride the heathen on that account? Finally, know you not—as a bishop you must know—that not before the thirteenth or fourteenth century could the strong sense of the German mind be degraded so as to give honor to relics, when, under the influence of the crusaders, the lofty idea which Christianity gives of God had been lowered and darkened by all kind of fables and tales of the marvellous brought from the East? Mark, Bishop Arnoldi, of Trèves, this you know, and perhaps better than I can tell you—I say you know the consequences which the idolatrous worship of relics have had for us, I mean in the enslavement of Germans, mind and body—and yet you display your relics for public worship! But if you do not know all this, if you only sought the public good in the display at Trèves, yet have you brought on yourself a twofold guilt, for which you cannot find an expiation. In the first place, it is unpardonable in you, if you knew that the holy coat contained healing powers, that you have not exhibited it till the year 1844. In the second place, it is unpardonable in you that, for the sight, you have taken money of hundreds of thousands of pilgrims. Or is it not unpardonable that you, a Bishop, should have taken money from our hungry poor, especially when you have lately seen poverty drive hundreds to public tumult and a death of despair? Do not, moreover, deceive yourself in the thought of the thousands that have hurried to your show; for millions, like myself, have thereby been filled with disgust and indignation. This indignation is not found merely in this or that class, in this or that party, but in all conditions—yes, even in the Catholic priesthood. Therefore judgment will come upon you ere you think. Already the historian seizes the pen and hands over your name, Arnoldi, to the contempt of this generation, and of the generations to come, as the Tetzel of the nineteenth century.

"But you, my German fellow-citizens, whether you dwell near or far from Trèves, apply all your faculties in order that such a disgrace may no longer be done to the German name. You have social institutions of various kinds—operate through them. Let every one use his utmost power to oppose and put forever a stop to the tyrannical power of the Roman hierarchy. For not merely at Trèves will this modern Shrove-tax be exacted, but, you know it, in the East and in the West, in the North and in the South, will the Church require dues of all kinds, and in all manners: the night of the mind more and more gains the upper hand. All of you, whether Catholic or Protestant, go to work at once; your honor is concerned; your freedom, your happiness. Let not the laurels of a Huss, of a Luther, be your shame. Give words to your thoughts, and make your wishes into deeds.

"Finally, you, my fellow-laborers in Christ, who desire and seek the welfare of your flocks, the honor, the freedom, the happiness of your own Germany, be silent no longer; for you sin against religion, against your mother country, against your holy calling, if you keep silence any longer, if you longer hesitate to give expression to your nobler convictions. Show yourselves true disciples of Him who sacrificed everything for truth, light, and freedom; show that you have inherited his spirit, not his coat.

JOHN RONGE, Catholic Priest."

The bare idea of the possibility of "the holy coat" of Trèves being the "coat without seam, woven throughout," of our Lord, might well excite a smile, had not the subject, with all its innate absurdity, assumed too grave a character to admit anything less serious than deep regret and hearty condemnation. It has, however, been pretty certainly shown that the seamless coat which was once possessed by the clergy of Trèves was sent, so long as 1114, from that place to Mentz, together with other relics, by a Roman cardinal, named Richard, as an expression of his gratitude for kind and hospitable treatment. Doubtless some seamless coat was so sent, for the said Richard's own handwriting is still extant, to bear witness to the fact. There is very good reason also to believe that the one sent was that which was then at Trèves. However that may be, here are two seamless coats, which is one too many.—Which, then, is the right—that at Mentz, or that at Trèves? Alas! the knotty question, cannot be decided, for it seems that there are many more than two. The indefatigable industry of German scholarship leaves nothing undiscovered when once it fastens itself on a subject of inquiry; and Bishop Arnoldi has played a fool's part in arousing at this time of day, attention to these anilities. Two professors of the University at Bonn have been led to put on their spectacles, and engage in dusty investigations; the result is, that they find, instead of two, *twenty-one old coats* used in the same fashion, to deceive the credulous, and grind the faces of the poor. The names of these professors are Dr. Gildermeister and Dr. Von Sybel; the title of their publication is "Der heilige Rock zu Trier und die Zwanzig andern heiligen ungenähten Rocke."

The consequences which have already resulted from the efforts of Ronge and his associates, are of the most extraordinary kind. It is only to the great ordinal movements of society we must look to find a parallel. Such was the Lutheran Reformation. Such was the enthusiasm that heralded the revival of letters. Such was the general and loud acclaim with which the first crusade was hailed. In even the rise of Christianity, we find no few points of marked resemblance. The entire land has been moved. The German heart has leaped forth at the sound of Ronge's voice, as though it had been waiting for the call. Protestants vie with Catholics in enthusiasm. Differences are fused down by the ardor of a new Christian love. The press utters its voice. The pulpit echoes with the accents of fresh and vigorous life. Ronge's progress through the land is a triumph. Greater still is the triumph which his principles are enjoying in the hearts of almost every member of the great German family.

Ronge has his enemies; but had he not enemies we should question his pretensions. Darkness is the invariable enemy of light. Superstition looks both frowningly and fearfully on religion. Accordingly Ronge has been assailed in every possible manner. Not content with hard words, his assailants have attempted to stone him; and failing in outward violence, have employed secret intrigues to bring down on his head the strong and avenging arm of the law.

The greatest excitement prevails throughout the country. In a land like Germany, where the popular mind has outgrown the social institutions, and where for the most part an uneasy, not to say jealous, feeling prevails between the governor and governed, such an excitement could not be unattended with peril. The King of Saxony was led to publish, on the 17th of July, a decree, which at least bore the appearance of being an invasion of that religious liberty to which, in the abstract, it, in imitation of the general tone of the German Governments, professed itself favorable. In this decree it is ordained that the confession of Augsburg, shall be maintained intact, and nothing, whether in private or in public, bearing against that confession shall be done. Opposition is to be given by every attempt to found societies or hold meetings in which the confession of Augsburg may be brought into question.

The appearance of this State paper became the signal for the outbreak of discontent and disaffection. The fundamental and the dearest liberties of the people seemed assailed. Prince John, Duke of Saxony, the king's brother, a zealous Catholic, was held to have exerted great influence in causing its publication. When, therefore, a short time after, he appeared at Leipsic, he was received with the most decided marks of disapprobation. The manifestation of that disapproval was long, if not violent, too, and unhappily led to the employment of force on the part of the military, which occasioned the loss of several lives. This event is the more untoward in consequence of the peculiar relation in which the King of Saxony stands to the greater part of his subjects. He is himself a Roman Catholic, while 1,750,000 of those subjects are Protestants, and only 30,000 belong to the same church as the monarch; and the circle of Leipsic contains 2,000 Roman Catholics, but nearly 400 000 Lutherans or Protestants.

The immediate result of this effusion of blood, has been to occasion a great increase of difficulty, and much distress of mind to Ronge and his associates. The aspect of the Governments has become severe; but the melancholy event has also increased the determination of the people, and this intervention of a foreign and despotic power will ere long be proved to have given fresh vigor to the new reformation, and prepared the way for its achieving yet more signal triumphs.

The movement is indeed rapidly becoming too strong for effectual resistance. As a source of concern and trouble, it was from the first regarded with dissatisfaction by the civil powers, who soon, however, saw that active resistance to its progress, was not to be thought of. Gentle in consequence were the words of indirect disapprobation which they put forth. Prussia, for instance, said in effect, that full religious liberty was a civil right, and not to be called in question. Yet the State had no intention to recognize a new sect. Under actual circumstances it could not say whether the new communities would be permanent; therefore the Government would wait. Meanwhile the movement should be neither checked nor promoted by the civil powers. But as the new societies were not recognized, they could not enjoy civil privileges. The Government would treat them as separate and independent institutions; and those who took the lead in them as individuals, and not as clergymen. Such societies could not be permitted to use the places of worship recognized by the State, nor could their ministers be held to give a legal sanction to marriage. Protestants, therefore, were not to allow the use of their churches to the so-called German Catholics, nor was a marriage solemnized by their ministers to be valid in point of law, unless a Protestant clergyman took part in the ceremony.

But the enthusiasm of the nation is gradually dissolving these bonds. Communities of the new Catholics protest that they will allow no second party to interfere in marriages solemnized by their own clergy. Protestants have replied that, in obedience to a higher law than that of the State, they feel compelled to lend their churches to their reforming brethren. The local authorities permit the use of halls and large rooms which are at their disposal, and even contribute large sums of money to aid in supporting the new societies. Protestants of all ranks come forward with aid. It has become a sort of fashion for Protestants to present to the reformed Catholics services of plate suitable for use in the celebration of the sacrament. Females form themselves into societies in order to procure funds and furniture for the new churches, of which, within less than a twelvemonth, one hundred and fifty-six are recorded to have been formally constituted in different parts of Germany, to say nothing of the yet unassociated thousands that are scattered over the surface of the country.

Through these and other facts of a similar kind, the Prussian Government has seen fit to yield a little—having recently (July the 8th) stated its intention of empowering local church governors to grant to the Dissidents the use of their places of worship under certain prescribed conditions. This concession is but a prelude to a full recognition, at least in Prussia, where religious liberty has solid guarantees, and where the Government can have only slender and partial sympathies with the Holy See.

PLAIN-DEALING.

Certainly, plain-dealing is a jewel, but often confoundedly costly, for that very reason. Plain-dealing is like the Pitt diamond, a gem of immense value, a precious and ever-sparkling treasure, yet a very awkward thing for a man to carry about with him, and exhibit to all he happens to meet in his wanderings through the world. He who resolves upon carrying his plain-dealing into society, will perhaps find himself, sooner or later, unceremoniously brought to, with a "stand and deliver!" he must part with his jewel if he would be safe—if he persist in keeping it, he will be crushed. It will appear, at last, as a princely husband appeared to the plain-dealing spirit of Beatrice, "too costly for every-day." The Eastern traveller in the story, was obliged to part with the jewels brought from a land of enchantment, in exchange for as many of the petty coins, which were current in the country he had reached, and would alone purchase him lodgings and provisions. In some places a doit might buy what a diamond might not; and plain-dealing, though a jewel of inestimable price, might be the wealth of a starving man, unable to convince others of its value, and driven from pillar to post as an impudent imposter, who refused to conform to the customs of the country—an incorrigible cheat who tried to trick people out of their own delightful self-love, by the insolent tender of a virtue worth nothing.

The jewel plain-dealing is the more costly by reason of its possessor's continual temptation to produce it and hold it up to the light, that men may gaze on and admire its lustre. Directly he does this he is either openly knocked down, by common consent, for an upstart, or cut down by decent degrees as an utterer of exceeding unpleasant truths. If the jewel-holder be in a dependent condition, we need not go farther than Granada, or look deeper than into the history of Gil Blas, to discover that he is easily reduced to pauperism, if rash enough to bring his riches into display. The Archbishop is representative of clergy and laity, too, in this matter. Whatever the composition may be, sermon or song, it is sure, if the latest, to be the best performance of its impartial author, and the humble plain-dealer who thinks otherwise is scouted for his conceit and his calumnies.—*Laman Blanchard.*

Education and Industry!

THE Northampton Association of Education and Industry have appropriated a suitable tenement for the accommodation of 15 or 20 boarding pupils. They will be members of a family, under the care of the Director of Education, assisted by his wife, and other teachers, and will be subject to the same treatment and regulations as pupils who are members of the association. The name of the association indicates the idea of culture, towards the realization of which our efforts will be directed. Systematic, habitual industry is deemed indispensable to education, which should aim at the harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, moral,